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Popular Music in Taiwan: Language, Social Class and National Identity

By Hsin Mei-fen

PhD thesis, 2012

Abstract

This project explores how longstanding conflicts in Taiwanese society have been reflected in the development of popular song in Taiwan in the period of martial law from the late 1940s to the late 1980s, and in the light of the periods of colonisation experienced by the country (i.e. Japanese colonial rule from 1895-1945, and the rule of the Chinese Nationalists from 1945-1987). The research methodology employed is sociological as well as historical and ethnomusicological in orientation.

It is argued that popular song offers a significant focus for two main reasons: (i) it is a shared medium through which ordinary people interpret and make sense of their everyday life experiences; and (ii) it provides a rich resource in terms of the diversity of linguistic usage in the two main language groups in which popular song is produced in Taiwan – Mandarin Chinese and Minnan-Taiwanese, each of which has come to represent conflicting attitudes to social class and national identity. Genres of popular song like the ‘patriotic popular song’, the ‘campus song’, the love song, ‘dialogue’ songs, and songs of migration and separation are examined and interpreted in relation to the larger historical and political context of this period.

The dissertation is organised into two parts. Part I (Chapters One to Three) focuses on how the Chinese Nationalist government propagated a particular version of Chinese cultural hegemony through cultural policies, control of the mass media and the education system, and support for the notion of ‘patriotic popular song’. Part II (Chapters Four and Five) explores the post-war period by examining Taiwanese-language popular song and its musical structures and lyric narratives, together with the starkly contrasting world-view that emerges from these songs.

Through an examination of popular songs and their lyrics in the period of martial law it is shown how the split in Taiwanese society is represented in the songs of these years of change – the move from the countryside to the cities, the role of

work, the differing social status of immigrant Chinese and indigenous Taiwanese, and the status of women. What emerges from this study is an awareness that the conflict is not only that between the immigrant Chinese and the indigenous Taiwanese communities, but also the conflict of identity within the Taiwanese Minnan-speaking community itself.

Popular Music in Taiwan: Language, Social Class and National Identity

Hsin Mei-fen

PhD Dissertation

Music Department

Durham University

2012

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Declaration

The work described in this dissertation was undertaken between 2008 and 2011, while the author was a research student under the supervision of Prof. Max Paddison and Dr. Simon Mills in the Department of Music at the Durham University. This work has not been submitted for any other degree at Durham University or at any other university.

The copyright of this dissertation rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without her prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

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To my husband

博清

Introduction

The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality and the immense difference of ways of life never come to mask the human realities. ... The originality of the colonial context is that the economic substructure is also a superstructure.

(Frantz Fanon 1961: 30-31; also cited in Homi Bhabha 1994: 79)

Neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with domination, ... the hegemony of the imperial ideology ... had become completely embedded in the affairs of cultures whose less regrettable features we still celebrate.

(Edward Said 1993: 8,12)

Cultural theorists like Homi Bhabha and Edward Said have proposed that postcolonial societies are marked by the experience of their colonial past – a mark that remains long after such societies have shaken off direct colonial rule. The mark is manifested in the conflicts and divisions that can be traced back the colonial period. This notion is applicable to the case of Taiwan, which had experienced colonial rule by Japan up to 1945, followed immediately by what was in effect also a colonial rule by the Chinese Nationalists who came from mainland China following their defeat there at the hands of the Chinese Communists. In *The Location of Culture* Bhabha has claimed that the experience of colonisation affects all levels of society and all dimensions of a culture. The present research project needs to be understood in the context of this claim.

Research aims

The aim of this dissertation is to explore how longstanding divisions and conflicts in Taiwanese society are both reflected in, and can be understood through, the

development of popular song in Taiwan in the period of martial law from the late 1940s to the late 1980s, and in the light of the period of Japanese colonial rule and of the rule of the Chinese Nationalists that followed this. It is argued that these divisions are both ethnic and linguistic in origin and that they have important social, historical and political implications. Accordingly the approach taken here is sociological as well as historical and ethnomusicological in orientation. Popular song offers a significant arena for this research for two main reasons: (i) because it has always provided an important musical accompaniment to the everyday lives of ordinary people, and is a shared medium through which they interpret and make sense of their life experiences; and (ii) because it also provides a rich resource in terms of the diversity of linguistic usage in the two main language groups in Taiwan in the second half of the twentieth century – Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese (Minnan) – in relation to the particular genres of popular music favoured by each group. My thesis makes the claim that the experience of ordinary people during the extraordinary period of martial law was mediated primarily through genres of popular song like the ‘patriotic popular song’, the ‘campus song’, the love song, ‘dialogue’ songs, and songs of migration and separation, and for this reason the tensions and conflicts of this period of rapid social and economic change in Taiwan may be identified in the songs and interpreted in relation to the larger historical and political context of this period.

My approach is first to examine the music-related cultural policies introduced in Taiwan during the period of martial law (1949-1987, under the Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek succeeded by his son Chiang Ching-kuo), and to situate these developments in their historical context. This context includes the political climate of these years, when the mass-media, of which popular music was a part, were used to

create a strong Chinese identity for the island, following the 50 years of Japanese rule that had only ended in 1945. This involved the imposition of Mandarin Chinese as the official language of the country (whereas previously it had been Japanese), and the attempt to coerce the Taiwanese indigenous population (made up of the majority Minnan and minority Hakka speakers, as well as the small minorities of the fourteen aboriginal ethnic groups¹) to adopt an overarching Chinese identity through the medium of Mandarin.

An important aspect of this process was the role played by popular song in educational institutions, in particular the universities, with the emergence of the phenomenon of the specifically Mandarin Chinese ‘campus song’, its relation to the ruling elite, and its contradictory sources in the American folksong movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Similar university-based music-making activities appeared at around the same time in other areas of East Asia, including South Korea, where so-called t’ong kit’a emerged, which was similarly influenced by American folk song and sung by students. I also suggest that the Chinese immigrants after 1945, who came to Taiwan with the Nationalists after their loss of power to Mao Ze-dong on the mainland, saw their stay initially as temporary, while at the same time taking on a colonial attitude to the island – an attitude which also left its mark on Taiwanese popular music. Finally, I seek to show how the split in Taiwanese society is represented in the lyrics of popular songs – the move from the countryside to the cities, the role of work, the differing social status of immigrant Chinese and indigenous Taiwanese, and the status of women. What emerges from this study of popular music in Taiwan through the examination of popular songs and their lyrics is an awareness that the conflict is not only that between the immigrant Chinese and the

¹ There is no consensus as to the precise number of aboriginal peoples in Taiwan, as some aboriginal peoples claim that they are separately distinguishable and should be identified as such, while the government has not yet officially approved their claim.

indigenous Taiwanese communities, but also the conflict of identity within the Taiwanese Minnan-speaking² community itself.

Research theoretical framework

In view of the complexity of the political, social and cultural situation in Taiwan and because of its intricate colonial history, no single theoretical or disciplinary approach is adequate to the task in isolation. My theoretical approach in this dissertation accordingly draws on the fields of ethnomusicology, popular music studies, and cultural studies in roughly equal measure. I shall expand on these three approaches briefly in what follows, before going on to discuss the context of my research.

First, while ethnomusicology undoubtedly provides one important orientation for this project, it does need to be understood itself from an interdisciplinary perspective. I understand ethnomusicology as inherently interdisciplinary for the kinds of reasons emphasised by Bruno Nettl when he talks not only about the embeddedness of music in culture but also about how a society relates to change in terms of identifiable processes that can also be recognised in its music. Nettl's view on this aspect of ethnomusicology is one I share because it also emphasises the relation of culture and society, and by implication how social tendencies may manifest in cultural artifacts like music and song:

We are interested in the way in which a society musically defines itself, in its taxonomy of music, its ideas of what music does, how it should be, and also in the way a society changes its music, relates to, absorbs, and influences other musics. We stress the understanding of musical change, less in terms of the events than in the processes (2005: 12-13).

2 See footnote 4 regarding the use of the terms 'Taiwanese' and 'Taiwanese language'.

Noticeable here is the emphasis on the processes through which music interacts with society, and how music shapes and responds to the ways in which society itself changes and moves towards the future. This is certainly the case with popular song in Taiwan during the period of martial law. When the Chinese Nationalists came to Taiwan, they imposed Mandarin Chinese as the official language, so that consequently Mandarin Chinese would come to take over part of Taiwanese popular song which had previously been dominated by the majority Taiwanese (Minnan) language. Inevitably, popular music in Taiwan would reshape the map of the music industry in terms of the language divide, as these two language groups and their associated song genres came to influence each other. Furthermore, the music industry would also be affected by the attitude of the government towards the role that language should play in maintaining its rule through state policy concerning broadcasting, mass media, and the education system. This dissertation focuses precisely on the ways in which Taiwanese society has shifted and changed through a comparison of Mandarin Chinese- (and its subgenres patriotic popular song and campus song) and (Minnan) Taiwanese-language popular song.

Indeed, this dissertation also involves a certain degree of comparison drawing on ethnomusicological methodology. This has been a valuable way to develop my argument about how a new sense of social class and national identity were constructed after the Second World War in Taiwan, and why tension and conflict emerged between the North and the South of the country. In doing this, my approach necessarily also involved a fieldwork study to gather data from singers, songwriters, producers and other professionals in the music industry, as well as information on how people in Taiwan perceived both Taiwanese-language and Mandarin Chinese-language popular song.

The ‘comparative method’ and fieldwork have been seen as the two fundamental approaches adopted in ethnomusicology from its beginnings as a distinct discipline, as Nettl has pointed out (Nettl 2005: 13). Thomas Turino, for example, utilises both these methods to investigate how the younger generation from the highlands of Conima migrated to Lima, the capital of Peru, and took their traditional music as their sense of identity to the new place where they had settled, and seeks to show how this music both in Lima and in their hometown had changed as a result of the migration. It is also the case that issues of identity have been regarded as important in the field of ethnomusicology since the 1990s (see Nettl 2002: 1-6). Music is used as a tool to shape national identity, as Turino has argued:

I consider *musical nationalism* to be a subset of cultural nationalism; I define it narrowly as any use music for nationalist purposes. By this I mean that it is music to create, sustain, or change an identity unit that conceives of itself as a nation in relation to having its own state, as well as for state or nationalist party purposes in relation to creating, sustaining, or transforming national sentiment (Turino 2003: 175).

The second strand of my approach is popular music studies, which is to a considerable extent sociological in orientation. Music and its relation to national identity, and how the nationalist party historically manipulated national identity through popular music are important for the issues on which this dissertation focuses. Simon Frith claims that the production and consumption of popular music can be an indicator of social class and social identity (Frith 1989: 16-25). When applying this argument to the case of popular musics of East Asian countries like Taiwan, Korea, Singapore and Indonesia there needs to be some recognition, of course, of the special historical, social, cultural and political conditions that apply to these regions –

conditions which include the rebuilding of economies and rapid industrialisation after the Second World War following a significant period of colonisation, and then, importantly, the enormous impact of the United States in these regions following the defeat of Japan, not only economically but also in terms of the widespread influence of mass culture. To this extent all the popular musics of these regions have been strongly influenced by Western – and specifically American – mass culture, although at the same time what is of particular interest about this widespread influence is the extent to which indigenous and local elements remain powerful, producing distinctive regional fusions. This can be seen, for example, in the case of Indonesian popular music. Bart Barendregt and Wim van Zanten (2002: 67-113) address the argument that Indonesian popular culture is at just such a stage of fusion, responding to a demand to create a sense of a broader national identity embracing a wide range of regional and ethnic identities by means of popular music. Similarly, Judith Ann Hurd argues that Japanese popular culture indigenises Western musical elements and makes them its own, thereby creating its own sense of national identity through Japanese popular music. Although the musical style is in many respects similar to Western popular music, it is also distinctive in characteristic ways that emphasise differences in performance style (Herd 1984: 75-96).

The third strand of my approach is that of cultural theory, and in particular post-colonial discourse. As I briefly mentioned earlier while introducing the history of Taiwan, the island had been colonised by a number of different regimes since the seventeenth century. In this respect, we can justifiably situate Taiwan in the post-colonial discourse. Although the Chinese Nationalist Party, Chinese immigrants, and the Taiwanese people themselves are all originally from mainland China, from where they moved to Taiwan at different times, the attitude of the Party towards the

Taiwanese people was, to some extent, that of *coloniser* to colonised in the post-war years.

I draw on cultural theorists such Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, and Pierre Bourdieu to help me tackle complex issues of social class and national identity in Taiwan. As a colonised island for several hundred years, Taiwan had a diverse ethnicity. It is understandable that tension and conflict must arise when the ruling power aims to impose its own political ideology directly, as the process of change implies a period of transition and instability. This is the kind of area of transition and uncertainty that Bhabha addresses with the concept of the 'in-between' in his book *The Location of Culture* (1994). Bhabha argues that because of differences in language and culture, and the resulting conflict in terms of social class and identity, a process of negotiation occurs within society. The process of negotiation refers to the dynamic way in which people move 'in-between' languages and cultures, and consequently, the way in which cultural reconstruction emerges. The degree of negotiation depends on the attitude of the ruling power, and on how the ruling power treats culture and as a result changes the way in which people think (Said 1993). In China between the 1950s and the 1980s, for example, the government encouraged diverse ethnic/ linguistic groups to write lyrics in Mandarin Chinese to traditional tunes praising the leader of the Party. The aim of this policy was to strengthen the sense of national identity, while at the same time, preventing resistance from these ethnic/ linguistic groups (see Baranovitch 2003). The combination of Mandarin Chinese and the music of other ethnic groups is certainly an example of the process of negotiation and incorporation. In this way, the purpose of consolidating a sense of unity between different ethnic groups would be fulfilled; on the other hand, ethnic music and its sense of identity would be threatened because traditional aesthetic and

cultural understanding had been changed and reconstructed. As Bourdieu argues, one can identify what the value of cultural products is according to a system of judgment of cultural taste – high/low, good/bad – that has been built and adopted within individuals and society through the education system and which is the result of the accumulation of knowledge (Bourdieu 1989). These perspectives are valuable for me to explore how Taiwanese society negotiated under certain political conditions through popular song during the period of martial law when there was no freedom of speech or of news gathering and broadcasting.

Having briefly discussed my theoretical framework and the three main approaches on which I have drawn in the dissertation, I now turn to a consideration of the broader research context within which I have situated my project. This also involves a survey of the key literature on which I have drawn.

Research context and survey of literature

Popular song remains a peripheral interest within the sphere of scholarship and academic research in Taiwanese universities. The writing on the topic that has emerged over the past ten years or so in Chinese has not primarily been the work of academic studies, but has largely come out of the efforts of enthusiasts for the songs (I shall address the most relevant of these later). Scholars have so far paid little attention to the investigation of the cultural meaning that Taiwanese popular song might have and the light it may shed on our understanding of Taiwanese society and its structure; or to explore its development in relation to social class and the language divide that is such a feature of Taiwan; or to demonstrate the relationship between ethnicity and cultural preference, and in particular the reception of popular song, both historically since the 1940s and today. Taiwan is made up of two main linguistic

groups: the Taiwanese (who speak the Taiwanese Minnan and Hakka languages), and the Chinese immigrants from mainland China since 1945 (who speak Mandarin). As well as these two main groups, which together make up over 95% of the total population, there are also a number of small aboriginal groups, who mostly live in the high mountainous centre of the island, and which also have their own separate languages. These diverse ethnic groups have distinct languages that also have the effect, therefore, that their cultures and customs are mutually differentiated. These factors also affect their taste in popular songs, and thus provide materials to enable us to explore Taiwanese society beyond mere questions of personal taste, since popular song is a product of human culture. I draw on Clifford Geertz's view of culture here, when he writes: "I take culture to be ... not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (Geertz 1993: 5). But he also proposes that the meaning obtained from cultural analysis is based on a kind of 'guessing', as part of the process to interpret what a culture brings to us (ibid: 20). From this point of view, popular song in Taiwan can present us with insights into the formation and re-formation of Taiwanese society, and its social stratification in the period following its change of sovereignty in the 1940s.

Historically, Taiwan has been ruled by a number of different powers since it was first colonised in the early seventeenth century. First it was part of the Spanish (the Northwest from 1626 to 1642) and then the Dutch empires (the Southwest from 1624, and the western part of the island from 1642-1662). It was then taken over by Jheng Cheng-gong (a Chinese pirate in the second half of the seventeenth century, 1662-1683), before becoming absorbed into the Chinese Qing dynasty (although it was actually only the western part of Taiwan that was absorbed until the end of the nineteenth century). An arrangement was then reached with the Japanese, who ruled

it as a colony for fifty years (1895-1945), a period when Japanese became the official language of Taiwan. Finally, the Chinese Nationalists³ came after the Second World War in 1945 and then, after their defeat by Mao Ze-dong in the Chinese civil war between the communists and the nationalists, set up the Republic of China in Taiwan in 1949 in opposition to the Peoples' Republic of China, and with the intention of establishing a line of continuity with the original Republic of China on the mainland (1911-1949). Given this brief history of Taiwan, it is not difficult to understand why the Chinese Nationalists at that time might want to make efforts to create a “national-popular will”, as Antonio Gramsci puts it, in order to lead a consensus to rule the country against the Chinese Communist Party. In order to achieve this “national-popular will”, in Gramscian terms, a “dictatorship + hegemony” had to be established so that “a complete fusion of economic, political, intellectual and moral objectives ... [would] be brought about by one fundamental group and groups allied to it...” (Mouffe 1979: 181). In his study of Gramsci's prison notebooks, David Forgacs explains that “‘national-popular’ designates not a cultural content but, as we have seen, the possibility of an alliance of interests and feelings between different social agents which varies according to the structure of each national society” (Forgacs 1993: 187). Forgacs also points out the importance of the “formation of national language” so that “parallels are implicitly established between a series of dominant-subordinate couplings: language-dialects ... intellectuals-people, party-masses” (ibid: 188). Through learning a national language, the masses construct and communicate with the internal and external world under the control of a ruling class without consciousness. Gramsci also notes that the class of intellectuals plays a

3 After martial law was lifted in 1987, Taiwan eventually made progress towards democracy, in particular, after the law ‘Temporary Provisions Effective during the Period of National Mobilisation for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion’ was abolished in 1991, and the first time the presidential election was open to a democratic vote was in 1996.

decisive role in the shaping of the “national-popular”, as he observed in relation to the problem of Italian literature dominated by French authors, in particular in the nineteenth century (ibid: 183-188). The relation of political forces is clearly explained by Gramsci, who writes:

one becomes aware that one's own corporate interests, ... transcend the corporate limits of the merely economic group, and can and must become the interests of other subordinate groups. This is the most purely political phase, and marks the decisive passage from the structure to the sphere of the complex superstructures; it is the phase in which previously germinated ideologies become ‘party’, come into confrontation and conflict, until only one of them, or at least a single combination of them, tends to prevail, to gain the upper hand, to propagate itself over the whole social area – bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity, posing all the questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a ‘universal’ plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups. ... religion, Freemasonry, ... can be subsumed into the social category of ‘intellectuals’, whose function, ... in that of mediating the extremes, of ‘socializing’ the technical discoveries which provide the impetus for all activities of leadership, of devising compromises between, and ways out of, extreme solution (Gramsci 1999: 205-206).

The political situation in Taiwan between the 1950s and the 1980s was essentially authoritarian, and censorship was strictly stipulated and expanded to all walks of life. Popular song in Taiwan exactly reflects on the situation of the Taiwanese people and their social reconstruction during this period due to the use of two different languages in popular songs. As mentioned above, because the Taiwanese people and the Chinese immigrants constituted the two main linguistic groups, the languages they used marked a divide (the two languages – Taiwanese Minnan⁴ and Mandarin

4 The Taiwanese language is derived from Minnan (see Cheng 1985: 352-353; Hsu 2003: 349, 370). However, it is also partly influenced by the Japanese language during the period of the Japanese colonial rule and has incorporated some Japanese vocabulary, and partly it has separated from its Minnan roots over a period of three hundred years. The Taiwanese version of the language has therefore to some extent diverged from the Minnan language, and it is for this reason that it is referred

Chinese⁵ – were completely different and mutually incomprehensible). This caused problems.

Language, conflict and social class

That authoritarianism and censorship were features of Taiwanese society under the Nationalists during the period of martial law can be confirmed through considering the reception of popular song in relation to the two main languages that dominated popular music in Taiwan at that time, i.e., Mandarin and Minnan – Hakka, which according to the Hakka Affairs Council, constitutes 18.1 % of the population in Taiwan (Hakka Affairs Council 2011: 31), was not favoured by the popular music genres in question. At the beginning of this period songs in Taiwanese (Minnan) were undoubtedly the most popular overall; by the 1970s, however, popular songs in the Taiwanese language had lost their leading position to songs in the Chinese language (Mandarin). Furthermore, during the period of martial law both Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese-language popular songs were subjected to official control, so that lyrics were subject to censorship and air time for playing Taiwanese-language songs in the media was strictly limited. Nevertheless, Taiwanese-language songs still remain popular on the record market. The conflict and tension between the Taiwanese people and the Chinese immigrants can, therefore, be seen through the consumption of the songs favoured by these two main language groups. Clearly, Taiwan is still not perfectly harmonious at the present day in terms of the political conditions under which the Taiwanese live, and people are not in agreement about the form of society Taiwan should take in the future. An example of this is to be seen in news items regarding the conflict of political demands in Taiwanese society even

to throughout this dissertation simply as ‘Taiwanese’ or ‘the Taiwanese language’.

5 The terms ‘Mandarin’, ‘Mandarin Chinese’ and ‘Chinese language’ are generally used interchangeably throughout this dissertation, referring to the form of Mandarin spoken in Taiwan.

today. One news item concerned several typhoons in 2010 that flooded Southwest and Northeast of Taiwan, serious flooding covering six counties which were all governed by the Democratic Progressive Party (whose image of supporting the independence of Taiwan from the Chinese mainland is commonly shared by the people). Someone posted a comment on the internet that the people who lived in those areas deserved to suffer from the disaster of serious flooding, because they had chosen to vote for the Democratic Progressive Party in the elections.

The issue of language and social identity is an important one. Gerhard Kubik has emphasised that one will lose one's sense of judgment, values, and patterns of behaviour if one is forced to learn a new official language and is compelled to accept the new culture. During the process of learning, a conflict thereby emerges through the difficulty of learning, characterised by suspicion between different ethnic groups, rejection by the ruling group, or resistance from the dominated group. The dominated group would become marginalised and distant from the centre of power (Kubik 1994: 23). Davis (1994) discusses how this process impacts on the unification of language and also music. These mediums of expression then serve as symbols of national identity; they "come to represent national (or regional) identity ... having been appropriated by the 'music industry' as marketable commodity ... This trend parallels the loss within modern nations of dialects, victims of the linguistic standardization required by a 'national language', as demanded in school and currently reinforced by the mass media and [mass] communication ..." (Davis 1994: 130-131). Languages, music and culture have, then, been simplified and standardised. Unifying and standardising language was a tool for the Chinese Nationalists to instill (Mandarin) Chinese identity throughout Taiwan and to establish 'national-popular will' – to use Gramsci's term – as a guiding and regulatory principle among the people. Such a

unification of languages happened in Taiwan, and subsequently, was followed by a series of reconstructions of Taiwanese society.

In his book *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said suggests that the ruling power treats culture as a form through which to empower its dominant position and its approved ideology, and as a consequence, to shape social norms and the collective will. Said takes English literature as an example to explain how social norms have been constructed – for example, historically readers have been educated to subscribe to the kinds of values put forward in novels. I suggest that the construction of social norms in Taiwan follows something of the same pattern as that described by Said, but that the cultural forms through which this occurs in the second half of the twentieth century are mainly those of popular culture, but with the additional factor that language itself, literally whether Mandarin or Minnan, for instance, is also of enormous significance to this process. For example, the use of a particular language is understood also in the light of which party happens to be the ruling power. Put the other way round, the political environment affects the masses' attitude toward languages. This remains the case even since 1987, when martial law ceased and Taiwan became a democracy. This means that cultural forms associated with the Taiwanese (Minnan) language will be encouraged if the ruling power is the Democratic Progressive Party, so that it is indeed now the case that the teaching of how to speak Taiwanese and other dialects has become part of school curriculum, something which was impossible before 1987. After Li Teng-huei became the president in 1988, Taiwanese identity was already gradually making progress towards greater recognition. This movement to appeal to Taiwanese sentiments helped develop a revival of a sense of Taiwanese identity and a greater historical awareness concerning the importance of the languages, history, and popular culture

of the Taiwanese. In the absence of much academic interest in the field, journalists, media commentators, and amateur enthusiasts began to make efforts to collect data and write about how popular song had developed, and to focus on the ideas and context that a songwriter might have had in mind when he or she was writing a song; the life histories of singers and songwriters, the establishment of record companies and TV and radio stations, the way songs were disseminated, and how policy-making affected the development of Taiwanese-language popular song. I shall now briefly examine some of the literature that has emerged from this process in Taiwan, and also identify some of the more significant issues.

Among the amateur history books written by enthusiasts that have appeared in recent years is *1930 Niandai Jyueban Taiyu Liousingge (Taiwanese-language Popular Song in the 1930s)*, written by Jhuang Yong-min and published in 2009. This book begins by showing how Taiwanese popular song emerged in the 1930s, and how it partly derived from and continued the aims to arouse the population to non-violent resistance against Japanese colonial rule in the 1920s, so that Taiwanese-language popular song became well-known and was well received, and how it was also partly associated with the advertising of the silent films. The popularity of Taiwanese-language popular song, therefore, increased and it at the same time accelerated the establishment of record companies such as Columbia and Victor. Jhuang Yong-min also incorporates some of the life stories of songwriters, and has provided resources concerning Taiwanese-language popular song which certainly help others studying the subject, as there is a lack of material due to the Second World War and the unstable political and economic condition in the 1950s. According to Jhuang, some Taiwanese intellectuals wrote songs in the Taiwanese language in the popular style in order to convey their political ideas, and this is how

Taiwanese-language popular song came to a wider public. However, songs from mainland China in Minnan, a language of which Taiwanese is a version, had already been circulated in Taiwan as early as the 1920s, and these proved to be more popular than songs written by Taiwanese intellectuals. As a result of the increasing commercialisation of the silent film, the population was finally able to gain easy access to Taiwanese popular song and, in 1932, the first Taiwanese-language popular song written by Taiwanese songwriters was released. Seen in this light, it is difficult to say that the emergence of (Minnan) Taiwanese-language popular song at this time had its origins as a form of resistance.

Two other recent books, written in an easy-going narrative style and highlighting the uneasy economic conditions that characterised the period between the 1950s and the early 1980s, are *Piaolangjih Nyu: Wona Wuncyungxiangde Nakasi Mama (My Mother: A Nakasi Singer)* (2010) by Syu Jhong-syong, and *Baodao Gewang Ye Ci-tian Rensheng Shihlu (Biography of Ye Ci-tian)* (2002) by Lin Yang-min. They both deal with details of the childhood and the lives of popular singers, showing how they became what they are. For example, Ye Ci-tian and Syu's mother had had ambitions to become a singer, which was a job which earned quite a lot of money while at the same time occupying quite a low social status. The social context of rural Taiwan, including the ways in which ordinary people lived, and the styles of performance that existed in these places during that period, are well documented. Several books are concerned with the life history of singers and songwriters, and provide details of events about TV stations and popular song, such as *Baodao Geshengjih Yi (Sound of Formosa)* (2005) by Guo Li-jyuan, *Taiwan Gesheng Lianpu (Sound Spectrum of Taiwan)* (2002) by Jheng Heng-Long and Guo Li-jyuan, *Taishih sihshihnian (The Establishment of TTV forty years from 1962 to*

2002) (2002) by Jhang Ruo-lan, *Taiwan Changpian Sihxiangci (The Development of Record in Taiwan 1895-1999)* (2001) by Ye Long-yan. There is a considerable overlap between the content of the former two books, and the singers and songwriters in them are included from the period of Japanese colonial rule to the 1970s. The book *The Establishment of TTV forty years from 1962 to 2002*, lists the origins of the TTV station, for example, when it launched singing contests, and announced the winners, and how much the prize was, and when the first time a programme in colour was produced. *The Development of Record in Taiwan 1895-1999* is primarily concerned with documenting the establishment of the record company Columbia in 1911 (as an offshoot of the Japanese company), how records circulated in Taiwan, which record companies the singers belonged to, and the amount of vinyl released by the various companies. All of these books take a documentary approach to their subject-matter, what the singers and songwriters' lives were like, and why they entered the music industry. They offer a kind of historical descriptive approach.

Because of the changes in the political environment of Taiwan, some local governments set up programmes to publish biographies of singers or songwriters, who were born or lived in that city, and held memorial concerts. The Cultural Affairs Bureau of Tainan City Government, for example, published *Wu Jin-huai Jinian Jhuanji (A Symposium of Wu Jin-huai)* in 1993 coupled with a memorial concert and the release of a set of CDs. This book concentrates on the life history of the famous singer and songwriter Wu Jin-huai from his childhood, then how he learned and engaged in music, and his life in Japan, why he decided to come back to Taiwan when his music performance career was flourishing, up to when he wrote songs and sang by himself or others in Taiwan until he died; and this book also contains some

of Wu Jin-huai's manuscripts. The executors of the project and Wu's wife even went to Japan to interview Wu's Japanese teacher and his Japanese friends of the music group, and collected some of his music records released at the time he was in Japan. From the history of how Wu Jin-huai became a singer in the 1930s in Japan while his family did not agree, it provides evidence that Taiwanese society negated and discriminated any form of performance; and it pictured a change in the populace's perspective towards the singers. Alongside this publication, the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei County published *Taiwan Geyao Chuangzuo Dashih: Yang San-lang Zuopinji* (*A Great Taiwanese Song Composer: A Collection of Yang San-lang Work*) in 1992. This book illustrates music theory and analyses Yang's works briefly, and it also contains score of 73 songs (but not his manuscripts) and a list of his work arranged by year. *Ye Jung-lin Siansheng Jinian Chuanji* (*A Collection of Ye Jung-lin's work*) (2001) by Keelung Cultural Affair, collects data about Ye Jung-lin from his friends, daughter, and commentators. This book includes some of Ye's photos, scores and manuscripts of 36 songs which describe the famous places around Taiwan. *Sanchong Changpianye, Siyuan, Yinggesingshih* (*Record Industry, Cinemas, Actors and Singers in Sanchong*) (2007) edited by Tsai Dong-syong, detailed the development of Sanchong's record companies and cinemas, and introduced what motivated those singers and actors, who were born or lived in Sanchong, entered the music industry.

Along with these reading materials, several TV stations started to produce documentaries on the history and singers of Taiwanese-language popular song. The documentary *Tiaowu Shihdai* (*The Dance Age*) shown on Taiwan Public Television (TPS) in 2003, interviewed singers, songwriters and personnel of Columbia Gramophone Company (known as Nippon Columbia) by the vinyl collector Li Kun-

cheng to build up a picture of how Taiwanese-language popular song had developed since the period before the Second World War up to the post-war years. *Jiang Huei De Yijie Rensheng (The Performing Life of Jiang Huei)* produced by TVBS and broadcast on August 14, 2010, focused on why Jiang Huei, the most popular singer of Taiwanese-language popular song, became a singer, and the years in which she released her albums. Formosa TV Station (FTV) has launched a series of documentaries called *Taiwan Yanyi (History of Taiwan)* concerning Taiwanese events and the people involved, the programme introducing singers and anchormen including Ji Lu-sia on March 20, 2011, Ye Ci-tian on April 18, 2010, and Jhugeliang on August 2, 2009.

All the books and TV programmes mentioned above focus mainly on the history of popular song, singers, and songwriters; they have provided testimony that the attitude and policies of the ruling power towards languages has had a great effect upon the perspective of the masses in relation to popular song. Between the 1950s and the 1980s these policies aimed to promote the Chinese language and thereby to implant Chinese cultural identity in the Taiwanese masses. This led to a decline of popularity in Taiwanese-language popular song. Surprisingly, the Taiwanese masses were much less likely to listen to songs in the Taiwanese language because they had come to prefer songs in the Chinese language to songs in their mother tongue. The fact that the phenomenon of Taiwanese listeners' taste shifted from the Taiwanese language to Chinese does not only explain the sphere of popular song as a youth oriented industry, rather it takes on a more profound meaning: it has come to function as a representation of one's social class. Seen in relation to this social context, it is reasonable to assume that Chinese immigrants obtained more advantages than Taiwanese residents. And it is also revealed in the term itself: 'Taiwan Geyao'

(Taiwanese-language folk song) and ‘Guoyu Liousing Gecyu’ (Chinese-language popular song).

In Taiwan, whatever the TV and radio programmes, books, newspaper, and magazines, all used ‘Taiwan Geyao’ (lit. Taiwanese-language folk song) to refer to Taiwanese-language popular song while ‘Guoyu Liousing Gecyu’ (lit. Chinese-language fashion song) to Chinese-language popular song. It is curious that Taiwanese-language popular song does not employ the same term ‘Liousing Gecyu’ (popular song) as Chinese-language popular song has done. Jhuang Yong-min, in his book *Taiwan Geyao Jhueixiangcyu (Taiwanese-language Popular Song)* (2006), explains that ‘ge’ is melodic – one sings it, while ‘yao’ is not (one speaks a piece of work in the way of following its intonation); and it is very common to find that ‘ge’ and ‘yao’ are combined for use in Taiwanese culture. Jhuang also points out that there are two kinds of *geyao*: traditional and creative. The traditional *geyao* means folk songs that a work has been passed on to the next generation and learned by oral dissemination, and it should be a collective work which the author is unknown; the creative *geyao* refers to a work is created by a certain composer and listeners is aware who the author is (Jhuang 2006: 58, 75-77). Jhuang’s definition about *geyao* is popular among Taiwanese society. According to his definition, then, Chinese-language popular song should adopt the term ‘Guoyu Geyao’. But it does not. Why? According to *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001), the term ‘*volkslied*’ (folk song) was proposed by Johann Gottfried Herder, who suggests that a song is written in a collective way and presents the dignity of the group. In Europe, from the nineteenth century onwards, ‘folk’ depicts songs that were the products of peasants and the rural working class; in Britain, Cecil Sharp states that ‘folk song’ contains three elements: continuity, variation, and selection, and ‘folk song’ in

particular refers to a song composed by ‘artisan’ and rural workers, disseminated through oral transmission, and that the author is unknown. No matter which definition, it seems that ‘folk song’ is perceived as a lower and primitive products (Pegg, Sadie and Tyrrell ed. 2001(9): 63-64).

Pop song (or popular song, for the term ‘pop’ is confined more to teenage groups (Chambers 1985: 7-8)) is market driven, the orientation of its products is for entertainment and commerce; and it depends on individual choice (Shuker 2005: 201, Cutler 1985). Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn argue that the basic differentiation between folk and pop music can be seen from two main perspectives: in terms of economics, and in terms of transmission. Folk music has no sponsors and is an oral tradition; it is a form of non-professional production. Pop music, on the other hand, is produced by musicians and technicians, and is transmitted through the mass media; it is the product of team work, and its dissemination through CDs, T-shirts, posters, and live concerts aims to make a profit. Pop music is professional (Booth and Kuhn 1990: 414-429). If music can be categorised into high-low art forms in relation to its theory, notation, professionalisation, then, popular song would be a higher art form than folk song.

Following from the discussion above, the term ‘Taiwanese Geyao’ gives listeners a sense of the songs sung for the ‘ordinary people’; it seems that this genre ‘of Taiwanese-language popular song’ is more likely to express experience, emotion, feelings and the life of Taiwanese people. At the same time, however, it impresses Taiwanese society with a representation of lower social stratum. On the other hand, ‘Guoyu Liousing Gecyu’ denotes songs that are popular and admirable, as ‘*liousing*’ means ‘fashion’, so Chinese-language popular song suggests that this genre presents a hierarchical form. Interestingly, the Taiwanese people accept both terms as they are

broadly used. This raises the questions “why did popular song become a representation of social class?”, and “Why did the Taiwanese people accept this idea without resistance?”

Construction of national identity

Max Weber states that “[w]ithout exception every sphere of social action is profoundly influenced by structures of dominancy ... the structure of dominancy and its unfolding is decisive in determining the form of social action and its orientation toward a ‘goal’” (Weber 1968: 941). In the case of Taiwan in the period of martial law the ‘structure of dominancy’ was on one level perhaps clear, in that the Chinese Nationalist Party was dominant and in control. On another level, however, things were more complex, so that dominance did not simply equal force. The key factor that determined the goal-orientation of Taiwan during this period was not subservience to naked power, but loyalty to the dominating idea of the unity of the country, and of the nation. It seems likely that the Taiwanese people at this time largely took on this sense of loyalty as corresponding to their own interests, and in this way the goal-orientation of the Nationalist Party also became that of the Taiwanese as a whole, who became prepared to sacrifice themselves for their country. Thus the Nationalist Party came to equal the nation, so that its goals became seamlessly the nation’s goals.

What was the goal of the Chinese Nationalist Party? After Taiwan had been ruled by Japan for 50 years, the Party was uncertain to what extent the Taiwanese sense of identity had been changed. The intention of the Chinese Nationalist Party to re-build a sense of Chinese identity within Taiwanese society is quite clear (see Huang 2007), and constituted a large-scale cultural project to implant and develop a

shared identity through a common language and the idea of a common historical and cultural heritage. Stuart Hall suggests that one of the ways to think about 'cultural identity' is "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past ... identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past ... cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but a positioning" (Hall 1994: 394-395). He points out that "[i]dentity as constituted, not outside but within representation ... [is] that form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak" (ibid: 402). In other words, identity is a sense of belonging that makes individuals feel safe and secure and it is this same sense of belonging that the Chinese Nationalists were trying to establish among the Taiwanese people within an ideological framework. From Althusser's point of view, it is clearly explanatory that "individuals can be sucked into ideology so easily because it helps them make sense of the world, to enter the 'symbolic order' and ascribe power to themselves. They identify with ideology because they see themselves pictured as independent and strong in it ..." (During 1993: 6). The Nationalist Party aimed to ensure that the Taiwanese people would not react against its rule, and at the same time, it had to obtain the Taiwanese people's support in order to maintain the legitimacy of the Republic of China and its resistance to the Chinese Communist Party. In fact, the division between the Chinese and Taiwanese languages in terms of higher/lower status was a measure designed to persuade the Taiwanese to abandon their mother tongue, and subsequently, the goal of implanting a sense of a larger Chinese cultural identity within Taiwanese society would be fulfilled.

Music can, of course, be a bearer of messages, so that music therefore tends to be controlled by the dominant power and is utilised to educate the masses. Jacques Attali considers that music owns the political power, and he observes that “[a]ll music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community, of a totality. It is what links a power center to its subjects, and thus, more generally it is an attribute of power in all of its forms” (Attali 1989: 6). Attali addresses the measures that the dominant class adopts to reach its political ends and to maintain its position; he says that “[e]avesdropping, censorship, recording, and surveillance are weapons of power ... this is the ability to interpret and control history, to manipulate the culture of a people, to channel its violence and hopes” (ibid: 7). It can be seen clearly that the dominant class usually uses, supervises, examines, and controls the production, performance, content, and broadcasting of music. In Taiwan, for example, Sie Ai-jie, in her book *Jinian Taiwan Geyao Chuangzuo Siancyu: Deng Yu-sian Zuopin Yinyuehuei (Concert of Deng Yu-sian's work)* (1997), mentions that the obstacles to the organisation of concerts came from political ideology and from the perception of popular song being coarse. Sie points out that the administrator of the National Music Hall did not agree to the concert being held there because popular song was considered a low form of art, and more importantly, the repertoire of this concert exclusively contained Taiwanese-language popular song which was considered even lower than Chinese-language popular song. There was no possibility for this concert to be held in the National Music Hall until it got support from the president, Li Teng-huei. Sie explains why she insisted that the concert should be performed in the National Music Hall, explaining that to hold the concert in such a venue would help to raise the status of Taiwanese-language popular song. She emphasises that “This is what we are concern, proud of, and happy with” (Sie 1997:

53, my trans.). Sie does not indicate what she means by this moment, but I assume that if Taiwanese-language popular song can be performed in the National Music Hall, then, it is no longer a bad or tasteless music genre.

Music is controlled and is shaped into a symbol of national identity by the dominant powers – something that can also be seen in the world elsewhere. John Baily, for example, explains that identity serves as an identification of a people, and that music as an identity of it indicates that this group of people comes from the same place, shares a particular culture, and speaks the same language; these people belong to a similar social class that music enables them to rely on and which provides them with relief. Baily demonstrates how Afghan national identity is constructed through the manipulation of political power that the Nationalists set the official language and collect all kinds of traditional and folk music, then use these materials to recreate a national music. Baily considers that building a national identity is much more likely to happen to a nation with a diverse culture that may increase conflict and decrease solidarity within ethnics groups (Baily 1997: 46-60). A similar phenomenon to that national identity created by the nationalists is demonstrated in Suzel Ana Reily's article 'Macunaímas Music: National Identity and Ethnomusicological Research in Brazil' (1997), Reily illustrates that Mário de Andrade was the author of *Macunaímas* and he was also a musician, Andrade collected folk music and he had influence on other contemporary composers. Reily concludes that collecting folk music to act as material for composition is a result of economic deprivation and exploitation; the colonised people seek to prove themselves to be not inferior and not subject to the dominant power, they need a national identity as a tool to consolidate and express themselves (Reily 1997: 72-97). Reviewing Reily's work, which stems from that of Mário de Andrade, Peter Wade points out that "a nationalist project

requires integration” (Wade 1998: 6) – the bringing together of diverse musical forms to forge a new form of ‘national music’. In his study of Colombia’s popular music, Wade argues that music does not simply represent or reflect a single-faceted national identity; rather, the relationship is far more complex (ibid: 1-19). It is not the case that national music emerges as a consequence of processes of homogenisation; on the contrary, national music is able to emerge only when a multitude of diverse forms exist in a state of conflict. As Wade emphasises, this is “how we conceptualise music and national identity. It is important to grasp processes of conflict and of resistance in understanding the cultural politics of music” (ibid: 16). As Bhaba has argued, the reconstruction of culture and music happens through processes of negotiation, moving ‘in-between’, and integration and similar processes have also been analysed in the work of ethnomusicologists such as Margaret Sarkissian (1999) and Thomas Turino (2003), the latter of whom is addressed elsewhere in this thesis.

In the title ‘Is there a “Russians Abroad” in music?’ of his speech, Richard Taruskin suggests that music can be a label of identity and it is, therefore, a means of construction of national identity. Taruskin argues that Russians abroad, such as Prokofiev and Stravinsky, regard Russian music as their cultural identity, they think Russian music is ‘cultural capital’, rather than ‘political sense’. Russians abroad construct their national identity through composing, publishing, and consuming Russian music (Taruskin 2011). Jonathan Dueck concludes that identity and conflict can be constructed and seen through musical usage when he investigates three Mennonite churches respectively in Edmonton and Alberta, and observes that the use of musical practices in these three churches is different. In worship services, the Mennonite church employs hymnody and classical music; the Holyrood Mennonite church tends to incorporate hymnody and popular music; the River West Christian

church is in favour of popular music (Dueck 2011: 229-254). According to the music played in these churches, he suggests that each organisation constructs its identity through the use of music, and, with each venue employing different music, ‘aesthetic conflicts’ inevitably emerge. Dueck explains that the worship in these churches is “presenting conflict as a kind of social relationship – a bond – and also attunes us as analysts to the richly textured expressive cultural flows between sides that can characterize relationships of conflict” (ibid 2011: 251), and the identity of a group is likely to be built up and consolidated because of this conflict.

The ruling power usually manipulates and controls music in two ways: through sponsorship and through surveillance. For example, the attitude of Soviet authorities towards popular music depended greatly on who was in power at any particular period. The content of popular music was controlled either through manipulating it to meet the demands of the party rulers of the day in order to convey the official party line to the masses; or through surveillance of particular groups and their music which was considered to be provocative and potentially a threat to the party’s dominance (see Street 1986: 29-30). Both methods – sponsorship and surveillance – aim to control the society and shape a collective, ‘popular will’. A similar way to influence the content of songs can be seen in the case of Poland. ‘Mass song’ is a result of interference by the government. The Polish government treated songs as a vehicle for the transmission of ‘socialism’ (socialist realism) to listeners between the mid-1940s and the mid-1950s. Many members of the Polish Composer’s Union in Warsaw during that period chose to write ‘mass song’ in accordance with the government’s request because of the pressures of the political environment. Witold Lutosławski, for instance, wrote many works at this time that fitted in with the demand for socialist realism – orchestral works, opera, and

children's pieces – in order to avoid political problems (see Thomas 1995: 403-408). Another example of controlling popular music, in this case in order to pursue nationalism and solidarity, is South Korea. The book *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave* (2006), edited by Keith Howard, brings together articles concerning Korean pop music from the very beginning of its development in the early 1900s during the period of Japanese colonial rule, and looks at how the music industry cultivates the image of singers through manipulating their appearance, costumes, and style of performance, and also at how the mass media collaborates with the music industry to market singers today by taking an historical, political and cultural approach. In particular, it explores how Korean pop music and musicians were controlled by the government through surveillance to promulgate national identity after the Second World War. The development of Korean pop music parallels that of Taiwanese pop music in many ways; both countries had formerly been colonies of Japan and had emerged from colonial rule into eras of tight political control in which the governments used the media to convey messages of consolidation.

Without exception in Taiwan, the Chinese Nationalist Party had adopted a combination of surveillance and sponsorship to ensure a suitable content of popular songs which would not undermine the sovereignty of the government and which could disseminate a sense of Chinese cultural identity across Taiwanese society. Alenka Barber-Kersovan in her article 'Music as a Parallel Power Structure' concludes: "As a rule, the more repressive a political regime is, the more attention it will pay to the musical scene and the harder the repression it will bring to bear against musicians who are not willing to conform" (Barber-Kersovan 2004: 9). In Australia, singers with long hair were not allowed to perform on TV programmes in the 1960s. Subsequently, some members of bands had to cut their hair, but the band

Easybeat did not follow the rule because they wanted to be distinct from Australia and retain their British identity (Zion 1987: 305-306). Between the 1950s and 1980s, censorship was strictly stipulated in Taiwan and the Chinese Nationalist Party oversaw the publication of popular songs regardless of the languages it involved. Li Kun-cheng, a vinyl collector and commentator, in his book *Goodbye: The Time of Taboo* (2007) explores how the government controlled the content of popular song. Li illustrates that the government would ban songs or command songwriters to modify the title or the content of songs when the government sensed these songs might threaten its dominance. Some songwriters were questioned, including Lyu Jing-shou, and some were killed such as the songwriter of the song 'Zhanhuo Shaomalia (The War is Coming)', depending on how seriously the government considered the songs might represent a threat; and furthermore the singing license could be confiscated if the singers did not follow the rules. At the same time, the Chinese Nationalist Party would encourage songwriters and singers to perform songs which emphasised Chinese identity, and would reward them. It is evident that enforcing policies regarding music-making is a highly effective measure employed by governments to deliver and mould collective identity, and the Chinese Empire's use of music in this way can be traced back thousands of years. The Empire set rules about what kinds of music served what social class, and the people had to follow the rules. The Zhou dynasty started these kinds of rules because the emperor thought that music could function to maintain the social order; and therefore, the empire spread the rules and ideas via education.

The Education system was a tool to construct a cultural aesthetic that the concept is being disseminated to the masses, in other words, cultural taste has been approved by the education system and elite. As Pierre Bourdieu points out: "...

educational qualifications come to be seen as a guarantee of the capacity to adopt the aesthetic disposition” (Bourdieu 1989: 28). Bourdieu explains his perspective in his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1989), that once the norm of taste is built up, it enables viewers to identify the value of an artistic work. As a result, taste, selection and admiration of art such as literature, drama and music are in relation to the level of education. The higher the educational level, the greater the possibility that one is able to critique or judge a work of art. More importantly, cultural taste will function as “one’s social relation and a ‘sense of one’s place’” which means the social class of any particular group can be recognised in the light of its cultural taste; it is similar to the notion of Max Weber’s ‘life-style’ or ‘status group’.

Education plays a decisive role in shaping cultural taste and identity in a way that serves in effect to indoctrinate the masses, and especially intellectuals (Shih and Jhang 2003). In Taiwan, all kinds of mass media were nationally-run, so that the Chinese Nationalist Party was able to utilise radio and TV stations to propagate Chinese identity to ordinary citizen (see R.O.C. TV Committee ed. 1975, 1978), and the Party also unified the contents of school textbooks and ordered teachers and other school staff to supervise students. This action influenced the kinds of collective identity that had been shaped profoundly by this process, as the intellectuals functioned as the top layer of social stratification in traditional Taiwanese society. If Chinese identity could be imposed on both the masses and the intellectuals, the goal of the Chinese Nationalist party, then, would be fulfilled. Accordingly, music is not only a group of sounds produced by men for other people to hear or to feel; music is more than the perception of the surface. Rather, music-making is a result of human behaviour and thinking, it is the concept and value of the human that leads to music

creation (Christensen 1991: 215). Therefore, the popularity of Chinese-language popular song can signify the Taiwanese people's identity, and the decline of Taiwanese-language popular song can be regarded as an identification of the fact that conflict about 'who we are' has emerged in Taiwanese society.

Research methodology

In order to understand the perception and reception of popular song in the period of martial law in terms of the language divide within Taiwanese society, and how Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular songs become the representations of social class and cultural identity, it quickly became apparent that there were fundamental primary materials and data that needed to be collected in the course of research. While popular songs themselves have not been difficult to track down (as I shall show later), the problem has been the *context* of the songs in Taiwan from the period of martial law, where there has been a lack of easily available contextual source materials, a problem that is partly the case because of the effects of the Second World War (when archives and libraries were not well maintained), partly because the academy has not been very interested in popular music, and partly because the period in question largely predated the technological revolution that has aided the preservation of source materials. To tackle this problem, interviews with surviving singers, songwriters, producers, music personnel, and listeners from that time have provided one important source of primary data; an important source of data has been the contextualising material provided through newspapers, magazines, novels, literature, TV programmes and other readable, audible and visual sources. This involved extensive fieldwork whereby materials were collected partly through my interviews and partly through searching through a wide range of libraries, often

at a local level as well as national level, together with second-hand bookshops and amateur private collections. The availability of relevant materials online was relatively limited.

The central problem I faced in relation to these materials was how to make sense of the data that I had collected from my fieldwork. I see music as a dynamic process that is in constant movement between historical construction, individual creation and experience, and social identity (cf. Rice 1987: 470-480), and it is because of this dynamic interrelationship that music is able to articulate underlying and often unacknowledged meanings in a society, a community, a particular group, or a locality. Seen in this way, the available data and the wide range of accumulated materials are able to be used to build up a rich context within which the music, the key individuals concerned, and the social background of the period, are able to be interpreted in terms of the relationship between popular song and Taiwanese society in these years from the mid-1940s to the mid-1980s.

Collection of data

Before giving a brief account of the methods I adopted in the collection of data for this study, I shall first consider a range of approaches that influenced my own fieldwork. These approaches include those of Thomas Turino, Thomas Burkhalter, Marc Moskowitz, Will Straw, Susan Fast and John Street. My short review of these will serve to raise certain issues that remain important to my approach, particularly concerning interviews and participant-observation. Thomas Turino's *Moving Away from Silence* (1993) has been especially relevant to my project because, in this work, he is similarly concerned with understanding how migration changed traditional music in both the hometown and the city and how members of the younger

generation acted when they entered a new world. In his book, Turino adopts interview and participant-observation methods to investigate how the younger generation from the Conima district in Peru migrated to the capital Lima and other big cities, and how the migrants took their music and dance with them in order to strengthen their sense of identity in the new locations. Furthermore, he shows how, when the migrants returned to Conima they brought back with them new musical sources from Lima and elsewhere that enriched their own repertoire. Turino interviewed musicians and audiences to analyse the meanings ascribed to instruments and music and the perspective of musicians and instrument makers. And he also explored the relationship between music and its political, economic, and social context in both the highlands of Conima and in Lima. Turino's findings in Peru echo those of Baily (1997) in regard to inter-ethnic conflict; in both cases, the close proximity of diverse ethnic groups led to certain groups feeling that their identity was challenged and threatened. On the other hand, in the Peruvian case as interpreted by Turino, the promotion of national identity served to encourage stronger bonds within social groupings and a more pronounced segregation between these groups, while in the Afghan case, Baily suggests that the forging of national identity actually damaged solidarity within ethnic groups.

Thomas Burkhalter also employed the participant-observation method and in-depth interviews in his research trip to Lebanon in order to study the attitude of musicians towards war and violence. His relevance to my approach lies particularly in the way he shows how music can be used not only in relation to identity, but also as a form of resistance and protest. Burkhalter interviewed five musicians, including a pianist, an oud player, and the leader of a band in Beirut, and he concluded that there are two polarised attitudes to be found among musicians – denial of reality on

the one hand, and 'join the real world' on the other (Burkhalter 2011: 55-77). Burkhalter's main concern is with how the political situation influences musicians' attitudes.

In his book *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow: Chinese Pop Music and Its Cultural Connotations* (2010) Marc Moskowitz likewise mainly employs interview and participant-observation techniques, but in his case he uses them to provide a comparative analysis of musical cultures. He seeks to demonstrate how popular songs produced in Hong Kong and Taiwan influenced the development of popular song in mainland China from the late 1970s onwards, and to interpret the similarities and differences between rock styles in mainland China and popular songs in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Moskowitz conducted his research in both Shanghai and Taipei, and his interviews focus on urban elites. To some extent, this fails to provide a larger social perspective. First, the song-style comparison between mainland China on the one hand and Hong Kong and Taiwan on the other is not adequate; Moskowitz does not acknowledge that rock songs also existed in Hong Kong and Taiwan, let alone attempt a comparison of the rock songs and their respective cultural contexts in these three areas. Second, the interpretation of popular songs and their social meanings are exclusively focused on urban elites, and this could well give a misleading impression of the culture as a whole. But nevertheless, Moskowitz's approach does succeed in providing a broader view of mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan through its study of popular songs.

Will Straw points out that authorship itself has become a topic for discussion and research in academia. He argues that to some extent authors' ideas are likely to reflect social events and collective values and to reveal listeners' experiences and preferences (Straw 1999: 199-208). Clearly this relates to more than just the songs

and the lyrics themselves, and brings in other aspects of performance. Fast (2000: 33-40), for example, studies the gestural aspects of the performance style of the U2 singer Bono, and she also examines the décor and stage design of U2 concerts, the colours used in their videos, photographs, and albums, as well as Bono's dress code in order to explain issues of Irishness, ethnic conflict and self-identity. However, singers' and songwriters' intentions and views of what they are doing are not necessarily self-evident to their listeners, and what listeners perceive in and understand from a singer's performance and appearance may likewise not necessarily correspond to what the performer might have intended to convey. John Street, for instance, claims that he cannot understand the song 'Pills and Soap' sung by Elvis Costello in 1983, arguing that "[t]he writer cannot control how a song is heard or where it's heard. He can tell his audience what he intended; but he cannot tell them how to listen" (Street 1986: 6).

Accordingly, the perspectives of singers, songwriters, producers, arrangers, and instrumentalists, as well as listeners are equally valuable; and this data can also help to build an ethnographic context that how music personnel and listeners are involved in and perceive popular song. In view of this I have adopted in-depth interviews for both music personnel and listeners. I have interviewed three singers several times (in the summer of 2009 and 2010), three songwriters in 2009 (they are also producers), three instrumentalists (two several times in 2009, the other once in 2010), one arranger (in 2010), and one vinyl collector several times (2009). I have also interviewed 12 listeners ranging from teen years to their 80s. All of my interviewees gave me permission to use the data and their personal details such as name, age, educational level and job (two of them do not wish to show their names). For my interviewing, I chose to focus on a relatively small sample of musicians and

listeners rather than attempting a more comprehensive large-scale survey; while still covering a wide range of socio-cultural backgrounds and opinions, using a smaller number of informants enabled me to ask them more questions and delve more deeply into their personal histories, experiences, and attitudes. The adoption of the Chinese or Taiwanese language for the interview depends on the individual interviewee's choice. I can speak both languages fluently and using these languages presents no problem. Problems that did arise in relation to interviews in my research concerned in part the fact that it was sometimes difficult to contact the singers and songwriters or other musicians. In this respect, because my research focused on musicians and singers who were active between the 1950s and the 1980s, some of them were no longer alive, the work of some of them is no longer in the public domain, some of them are too old to be interviewed for health reasons, and others claimed that they were simply too busy. In part the problem also lay in the fact that the period of inquiry is now a long time ago for these musicians to remember the events or the details of the period, and whether they were paid for attending a TV programme, or what their earnings were for recording a song or an album. More serious was the fact that it is not always easy for them to judge the difference of singers' standing within the music environment of the time in terms of cultural policy between Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular song divide, and a further contributing factor here has to do with the complexities of the present day political situation in Taiwan and the fact the people are often reluctant to express their real views for fear of causing offence. It is for all these reasons that it was very important to take the evidence produced from the interviews in conjunction with evidence and materials gathered from other sources.

The use of questionnaires also played a role in the production of data for this

project. In setting these up I took Sullivan (2003) as one of my models because she was similarly concerned with collecting and comparing data from two distinct social groups. Rachel Sullivan used questionnaires to survey the opinion of black and white youth listeners regarding the range of meanings conveyed by rap. The design of Sullivan's questionnaires contained ten questions based on her four hypotheses: (i) rap is much more popular among black groups; (ii) rap is a representation of black groups; (iii) black groups are more likely to acknowledge rap and its stage acts; and (iv) white fan groups may nevertheless be able to understand racism through rap. She starts from the position that both black and white adolescents like to listen to rap, although these two groups differ in the meanings they ascribe to the music. She argues that there are different perspectives and interpretations in rap between black and white youth, implying that rap represents social rather racial identities (Sullivan 2003: 605-622). Shuker suggests that the popularity of popular music was generated by the young people of the post-war baby boom pursuing their own identity, which differentiated them from their parents; they found something new which belonged only to them (Shuker 1995: 38-39). Indeed, the method represented by the questionnaire is a useful way to understand listeners' opinions and to clarify the perceived similarities and differences between Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular songs. In addition, the social transformation from agriculture to industrialisation led to a type of urbanisation that resulted in varying levels of development between the big cities and the countryside, and in the process a linguistic move from Taiwanese to Mandarin, to the extent that listeners, depending on whether they come from the countryside or from the city, must have different interpretations of popular songs in terms of languages. Therefore, I will study the listeners in Taipei (the capital is located in the North of Taiwan) and Chiayi (a small

city in the South of Taiwan) to analyse whether listeners living in areas with different levels of development will have different interpretations of pop songs. This has helped me to formulate a chart of the relationship between different tastes in pop songs and the structure of Taiwanese social class. In order to demonstrate similarities and differences in the perception of popular song between the younger and the older generation, and their localities, I designed questionnaires for two groups of listeners: the younger generation aged between 13 to 20, and the older generation from 45 upwards. I did not question people aged between 20 and 45 because they were not teenagers – that is, consumers of popular music – during the period of martial law and were not teenagers during the present day either.

I did my questionnaire surveys (see Appendix I) in Taipei and Chiayi in the summer of 2009 in a range of situations: in the street, outside underground stations in Taipei, drawing also on neighbours, friends and their acquaintances, students. It was my intention in this way to obtain the broadest range of opinions. In total there were 95 respondents in the older generation group, and 90 in the younger generation group in Chiayi; and 62 in the older group and 116 in the younger group in Taipei. There is a very interesting finding from the answers of the respondents that suggests that the Chinese immigrants all like to listen to Chinese-language popular song because the Chinese language is their mother tongue, but that some of Taiwanese-language speakers expressed the view that they dislike Taiwanese-language popular song because it is tasteless. Why do these Taiwanese people not like to listen to songs in their mother tongue? This is precisely the question I am going to explore in my dissertation.

Analysis of songs and song lyrics

Of course, the main body of primary material that is the focus of this project consists of the popular songs themselves and, in particular, the lyrics of the songs, since the texts can be regarded as mirrors and expressions of society and its people. As I have already indicated, the songs themselves are not difficult to find and collect in contemporary Taiwan. Due to the modern nostalgia for things past, songs from the whole of the period being studied in this project – that is, from the mid-1940s to the mid-1980s, but also going back earlier into the 1930s and the period of Japanese occupation of Taiwan – have been reissued on CD, videos and DVDs in popular compilations, sung by famous singers both in Mandarin and the Taiwanese languages during the period of martial law. These records target listeners who were born in the 1950s and 1960s, who have plenty of disposable income, and who wish to reminisce about the past seen through rose-tinted spectacles. Furthermore, many of these songs are also available in contemporary ‘sheet music’ form as song books. At the same time, there are also important earlier editions of popular songbooks, published in the late 1950s and including songs that also go back to the 1930s and 1940s, to which I have had access through interviews with singers and musicians from the period of martial law, and which are in their private collections. I have myself also collected a considerable quantity of songs for this research, and have benefited from access to the private collection provided by the singer Jheng Rih-cing. Access to other sources have been through my interviewees (in particular Chen), through proprietors of music shops, and also importantly, through searching through second-hand shops. Overall the published songbooks normally contain famous contemporary songs stretching back to the 1930s that were in general circulation in Taiwan and easily available for anyone who wanted to sing and play the guitar. These kinds of

songbooks used a form of musical notation employing numbers (see Chapter One), with suggested accompanying chords, together with the lyrics to enable them to be read and sung to guitar accompaniment. A further important source of information that has informed my project was discovered in the National Central Library, where two volumes of instructions on the broadcasting of popular music published by the Ministry of the Interior in 1971 and 1975 for the mass media (radio and television stations) were also found to contain lists of censored or banned songs.

Nevertheless, in spite of this wealth of materials, studying popular song has generally failed to attract the attention of Taiwanese musicologists and ethnomusicologists as a valid area of research, and what acknowledgement there has been of its existence has been largely restricted to historical overviews of campus song and Taiwanese-language popular song at Master's level. There has been little or no deeper analysis of the social and cultural context of the music, and of the ways in which the songs were regarded as meaningful by their listeners.

In Taiwan, the social transformation from agriculture to industrialisation occurred in the period from the 1950s to the 1980s, and it brought about a flux of internal migration from the country villages to the cities. This social transformation did not only change the mode of production, but also remolded the structure of the Taiwanese family. That this social transformation brought about changes in Taiwan can be seen through Nancy Guy's study 'Flowing Down Taiwan's Tamsui River: Towards an Ecomusicology of the Environmental Imagination' (Guy 2009). Guy examines the lyrics of popular songs concerning the Tanshui river in Taiwan, and finds out that there is a connection between the lyrics and the Tanshui river's ecology because the Tanshui river represents a feeling of reminiscence in Taiwanese-language popular songs in the 1930s, then becomes a place for couple to enjoy themselves in

the 1950s, and then comes to represent pollution in the 1980s (Guy 2009: 218-248).

Another ethnomusicological study that addresses East Asian popular song forms, similarly interpreting song lyrics to highlight pervasive socio-cultural trends, is Christine Yano's study of the Japanese genre of *enka* (2000). Here, Yano argues that the emotion most often projected within this genre is melancholy, isolating recurrent themes such as falling tears, lovers parting, longing for home, and broken hearts. The genre emphasises the Japanese capacity to cry, treating this as a point of cultural distinction from the West (Yano 2000: 60-74). Similar themes pervade Taiwanese-language popular songs; here too, rapid industrialisation and feelings of urban alienation can be pinpointed as encouraging factors. The vast majority of Taiwanese-language popular songs, of course, delineate life in the city, and the conflict between tradition and modernity within individuals, families and society. Thus, the analysis of the lyrics of popular songs will help me to understand and map the texture of social class, cultural conflict and national identity in Taiwan. As José Jorge de Carvalho and Lily Kong argue, ethnic and national identity can be seen through the song lyrics. Carvalho explores the transmission and construction of black ethnicity by analysing the lyrics of popular song and particular popular genres including *jurema* and *umbanda*. He also identifies the usage of particular words such as 'iaiá' and 'sinhá' and rhythm in the songs that ensures the existence of black identity (Carvalho 1994: 187-205). Carvalho's effective strategy of isolating often-occurring words from song texts to reveal widespread values and concerns has informed this study; in my analysis of Taiwanese popular song, a number of words have emerged as highly conspicuous and meaningful, such as 'meihua' (plum blossom). Meanwhile, Kong deals with the lyrics of national songs and songs from 'Not the Singapore Song Book' in Singapore to identify ways in which popular

music can be both a vehicle of national ideology and a mode of resistance to hegemony (Kong 1995: 447-459).

I have also drawn on ideas from studies addressing musical cultures in more distant geographical locations, wherever similar patterns of behaviour have been effectively isolated and analysed. For example, Franklin Bruno demonstrates women's responses towards domestic violence in the United State through examination of the song 'Stone Cold Dead' and parallels with the Taiwanese women's plight emerge. Bruno analyses the lyrics and suggests that domestic violence happened in light of American society preferred the family staying in the marriage relationship to divorce. However, the song lyrics mirror the tragedy of women's suffering in life, and which finally forced women take action to resist domestic violence. Bruno's study demonstrates how one can understand women's social values and their social position through the song texts, and how social reality can be revealed through the exploration of the song lyrics (Bruno 2011: 7-21). Bruno is especially concerned with analysing songs to highlight how women responded to the expectations of society and this is also a concern of this present study, where I examine how the position of Taiwanese women in newly-industrialised Taiwan is represented in song. Indeed, the lyrics of popular songs are a key element in the understanding of how music functions in society, how it has been changed by the political, economic, and social environment, and how one can interpret music and its relationship to society. In another case, that of gypsies in Spain, Manuel focuses on social history and song text to explain the suffering of the gypsies because of their poverty and the negative attitude expressed towards them by the Spanish people. He also argues that, because the songs and their lyrics are themselves social, political, economic, and cultural products, they can shed light on issues of social class, social

reality, and in particular the new sense of identity that results from the move to the cities (Manuel 1989: 52-59).

The structure of the dissertation

Structurally this dissertation falls into five chapters and is divided into two parts: Part I, consisting of Chapters One to Three, and Part II, consisting of Chapters Four and Five. Chapter One focuses on why listeners' taste in popular song shifted from Taiwanese language to Chinese language songs. It was in the 1920s that popular song in the Taiwanese language first developed (the use of Hakka for popular song was quite limited at this time). Chinese-language pop song was introduced later, in the late 1940s. After the Chinese Nationalist Party had been exiled to Taiwan in the mid-1940s, Chinese had become the official language and was promoted in all walks of life. Initially, this new language was largely incomprehensible to most people in Taiwan but, between the 1960s and 1980s, listeners' tastes shifted from songs in Taiwanese to songs in Chinese. It is clear that this shifting process was the result of political pressure. After providing a brief history of popular song in Taiwan, this chapter goes on to explore how the mass media, especially TV stations, reacted to meet the demands of governmental policies and how the linguistic association with status influenced listeners' attitudes between the 1950s and 1980s.

Once the acceptance of the Chinese language within Taiwanese society had become pervasive, the next task for the Party was to instill the concept of 'We are all Chinese' and to pursue the unification of all ethnic groups. Promoting the conception of 'We are all Chinese' underlies two meanings: legitimacy of rule and consolidation. The establishment of legitimacy of rule was the essential idea for the Chinese Nationalist Party towards the Taiwanese people, and also to the world that the party

had to maintain their power in the island in order to act as a base for resistance against the Chinese Communist Party on the Chinese mainland on the one hand, and to search for international support on the other. Chapter Two concentrates on how the Chinese Nationalist Party used ‘patriotic popular song’ to convey Chinese identity to the masses. In order to understand the success in implanting Chinese identity with the theme of ‘Great China’ to Taiwanese society, I first outline the origins of the patriotic song and briefly provide a sense of the ethnic diversity of the country. I then move on to explore how the Party, international politics, and media industries interacted to determine the content of patriotic popular song.

In Chapter Three I explore the relationship between intellectuals and Chinese identity by examining the genre of the ‘campus song’. Similar to patriotic popular song, campus song is another genre associated with Chinese cultural identity, and in particular, this genre is written, sung and consumed by students who occupy a peculiar position in Taiwanese society. After the Second World War, when Americanisation spread worldwide, Taiwan experienced a profound influx of American ideas and cultural expression. Following a period of instability during the 1950s and 1960s, these processes were accelerated from the late 1960s, to the extent that young intellectuals in Taiwan no longer listened to popular songs in their own languages. Instead, they preferred popular songs in English, with a particular admiration for Bob Dylan and other ‘new folk’ singers. From the early 1970s, Dylan-inspired university students started a new movement to ‘sing songs in our own language’. This marked the birth of a genre which the singers themselves came to refer to as ‘campus song’. In this chapter, I will trace the development of ‘campus song’, exploring why these privileged student singers were involved in activities that were generally associated with lower-status people. I shall then go on to look at the

relationship between campus songs in Taiwan and the Bob Dylan phenomenon in America, investigating similarities and differences regarding content, style, ideas, and imagery. I also investigate how campus song functioned as an expression of the Chinese intellectuals' cultural identity, as a genre belonging exclusively to the cultural and political elite. Finally, I assess how campus song is perceived by Taiwan's broader society in relation to other popular musical forms.

Part II explores the darker side of Taiwanese society after the period of post war by examining Taiwanese-language popular song and its musical structures. Chapter Four looks at how social and cultural changes relating to migration are mirrored in Taiwanese-language popular song from the 1950s to the 1980s. After the Second World War, Taiwan's politics, economics, and culture were radically reformed when the Chinese Nationalist Party took over administration from the Japanese colonists. The Chinese Nationalist Party launched an array of economic programmes to transform Taiwanese society from feudalism to industrialisation. This led to mass internal migration, which in turn brought about a reconstruction of family structures, the dissolution of traditional social values, conflict between ethnic/linguistic groups, and confusion regarding identity. Although industrialisation brought about economic development and improved standards of living, the social status of Taiwanese-speaking people remained the same: at the bottom of the stratified social hierarchy. This chapter investigates the ways in which the complex experiences of the Taiwanese migrant workers are expressed in the lyrics of Taiwanese-language popular song.

Chapter Five examines the social realities of Taiwanese society after the occurrence of the great internal migration revealed by the song texts of Taiwanese-language popular song. Taiwanese, as a spoken language, tends to be used to express

feelings, emotions and immediate everyday situations in the most direct way; it is not a literary language, and its directness and closeness to everyday life clearly reflects the experiences and social conditions of the Taiwanese people at this period, and it is this that provides the starting point for the analyses of the songs and their lyrics. Most of the songs had adopted melodies from songs originally in Japanese (and sometimes other languages). Nevertheless, the distinctive Taiwanese character of the songs emerges from the structure of verses and the use of instrumentation. The chapter ends with a consideration of the position of women as represented in these Taiwanese-language songs, and the sense of locality. In the evaluation that concludes this final chapter it is recognised that it is not only the divisions of Taiwanese society that are embodied in the language divide within popular music in Taiwan: perhaps even more telling are the tensions revealed within Taiwanese-language popular songs themselves, indicating a conflict between tradition and modernity, in terms of gender, family and locality.

The dissertation concludes with a brief consideration of developments since the main period covered by this study – that is to say since the late 1980s and the early 1990s. It is argued that the perception of Taiwanese-language popular songs has to a certain degree changed in recent years, especially with the emergence of bands who sing in both Chinese and Taiwanese, and with the increasing influence from the West on popular music in Taiwan.

A note on translation: In this dissertation, all translations are my own, including song lyrics and titles of both Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular songs (Taiwanese being an language has no separate written form, so that song lyrics here are written down in Chinese characters, but would be spoken in Taiwanese), quotations and

interviews. There are two reasons why I present Chinese characters instead of pinyin romanisation for lyrics: Firstly, pinyin does not detail the tonal content of syllables and therefore does not clearly communicate meaning. Secondly, songs that are performed in the Taiwanese (Minnan) language need to be written down in characters rather than pinyin, which only indicate standard Chinese articulation. Only Chinese characters can be used consistently for all of the lyrics addressed in this thesis. For proper names, names of cities, and song titles, I adopt tongyong pinyin (lit. the Universal/ General Usage Sound-Combining) because it effectively represents the sounds of Taiwan-Mandarin – closer to the actual sounds produced than hanyu pinyin, which better suits mainland Chinese-Mandarin (See Appendix II for a table of pronunciation for English, tongyong pinyin, and hanyu pinyin). However, for particular names such as kung fu or Chiang Kia-shek, I use the commonly-accepted conventions.

Chapter 1: Changing tastes in popular song from the 1950s to the 1980s

The period between the 1950s and 1980s was a turning point for popular song in Taiwan, during which the record market moved its focus from Taiwanese-language popular song to Chinese-language popular song. In this context, by ‘Chinese’ and ‘Taiwanese’, I am referring specifically to the two main languages that have long been used in popular song in Taiwan – and still are today. Prior to the 1960s, the two were almost equally popular. The Nationalist rulers supported the dissemination of Taiwanese-language popular songs that were deemed to have appropriate content because most Taiwanese could not understand the Chinese-language songs and the medium of song was considered invaluable as a tool of propaganda. However, the situation shifted because the government’s policies brought about changes in political and economic conditions and social structures. Chinese-language (Mandarin) popular song became the dominant force in the record market. In retrospect, we can now see that it was an extremely complex period of history, in which multiple forces played a part in re-forming the content of popular song. Most studies focusing on popular song in Taiwan suggest that the decline in the popularity of Taiwanese-language songs resulted from government policies to do with the promotion of one language over the others. I do not deny this point of view. However, I argue that there were ulterior motives underlying the government policies: reshaping society and its values. The policies aimed to establish a universally agreed-upon hierarchy of languages and their speakers.

The use of cultural policy to reshape social norms is well-documented in ethnomusicology. Based on his fieldwork among the Venda of South Africa, John Blacking concluded that “changes in musical style have generally been reflections of

changes in society” and this is obviously true (Blacking 1995: 76). However, it is important to realise that changes in style also serve to enforce, contest, and support social change – working as an active force. Marcia Herndon recognised this in her study of American Indian culture, identifying how state policy can effect music and thereby bring about broader social change: “A cursory review of the history of public policy and traditional musics in the United States indicates a consistent use of public policy to control and to protect its aims, goals, and intentions. American Indians, for examples, were forbidden to use their languages, practice their religions, or perform their music” (Herndon 1991: 58-60). Oskar Elscek came to similar conclusions about the use of music as a social tool, presenting cultural policies as “quasi-institutionalised, influence-exerting and guiding components which protect specific interests. ... Culture policies often have more to do with politics than culture i.e. they have to do with politically and ideologically targeted goals” (Elscek 1991: 32).

In this chapter, I shall explore the music-related cultural policies that were introduced in Taiwan from the 1950s to the 1980s, examining the content of the policies and their underlying motivations and investigating the responses of the media and the masses. Before introducing the policies themselves, I shall begin by outlining the history of popular song in both the Minnan-Taiwanese (hereafter ‘Taiwanese’) and Mandarin Chinese (hereafter ‘Chinese’) languages.

1.1 The development of Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular songs

There were few Chinese-language popular songs in Taiwan before the first half of the 1940s, since the languages used during the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945) were Taiwanese and Japanese, and indeed Taiwanese people could hardly comprehend Mandarin at all. At that time, Taiwanese people mostly listened to

traditional Taiwanese folk song and popular songs in the Taiwanese and Japanese languages.¹ Chinese-language popular song was introduced to Taiwan after the Second World War, in conjunction with Chinese migration, immediately expanding the diversity of popular song expression in the country. Although the Chinese and Taiwanese languages songs influenced one another in various ways, they still maintained their own distinctive identities, clearly continuing along their own paths of development. Therefore, they have to be introduced separately.

Before the advent of Japanese colonial rule in 1895, Taiwan was a traditional village-based society, in which villages remained relatively isolated on account of the rather basic communication systems on the island (Lin 1998: 6-7). At that time, most Taiwanese people were peasants, living subsistence existences, working small plots of land, at the bottom of the social hierarchy. They watched *gezihsi* (traditional Taiwanese opera) and *budaisi* (puppet drama) during religious festivals or other events. Some of them attended social clubs specialising in the performance of *nanguan* (a traditional accompanied-song genre from the South of China), *beiguan* (the equivalent form from the North of China), and folk songs – all accompanied on Chinese instruments. These musical forms were passed on from one generation to the next through oral transmission and the lyrics were in the Taiwanese language (except *beiguan*). However, things changed in 1895 when, following the first Sino-Japanese war, Taiwan was handed over by the Chinese Qing dynasty to Japan. Subsequently, the Japanese people brought Japanese-language popular song into Taiwan, importing records and record players. They also recognised the huge potential market for popular songs in the Taiwanese language, and responded accordingly.

¹ Mandarin Chinese was once the local language of Beijing. It became the official language of the Republic of China in 1913. Chinese and Taiwanese are mutually unintelligible. The Taiwanese people (excluding the aboriginal population) originally came from South East China, traveling in waves of migration from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

The first record shop in Taiwan was opened by a Japanese man called Shojiro Kashiwano in Taipei in 1910. He was also a pioneer in the marketing of Taiwanese-language music, taking a group of fifteen Taiwanese musicians to Japan in 1914 to record the traditional Taiwanese songs ‘Dawuduei’ (from the *beiguan* repertory) and ‘Shanbo Yingtai’ (using a tune from the *gezihsi* repertory² and recounting a Chinese tragic love story) for subsequent release in Taiwan (Ye 2001: 45). The popularity of this first record in the Taiwanese language encouraged Shojiro Kashiwano to record other types of Taiwanese music for the Taiwanese market (see Video: *The Dance Age*, 2003). In the meantime, Columbia and then Victor set up branches in Taiwan, followed by various local companies – all similarly recognising the marketing potential.

The first two popular songs in the Taiwanese language were ‘Syuemei Sihjyun (Syuemei Misses Her Lover)’ and ‘Hongyingjih Ming (Mother Bird’s Sadness)’, both of which were based on melodies from *gezihsi* and originated from South East China, where the language is the same as Taiwanese (Jhuang 2006: 22). This was the first time that Taiwanese people had the opportunity to listen to new types of song which were different from Taiwanese traditional music. With the introduction of the seven-day week (before which there was no unit of time-measurement between a day and a month), the introduction of new technologies and communications, improved education, transformations in infrastructure, and a modernised banking system, many Taiwanese people were experiencing new wealth and leisure time, which allowed them to enjoy modern entertainment activities such as watching films (Tian ed. 2008: 39). The first silent film to be introduced to Taiwan was ‘Taohua Cisieji (Taohua Crying as if in Pain)’, which was produced in China. To

² At that time the name ‘*gezihsi*’ had not yet been standardised, so this song was labelled as a ‘Formosa Song’.

advertise the film a song was needed, and two of the most famous *bianshih* (silent film commentators)³, Jhan Tian-ma and Wang Yun-fong, were invited by Columbia to write the title song ‘Taohua Cisieji’ in 1932 (Video: *The Dance Age*, 2003). This song was sung by Chun-chun who was an actress of *gezihsi*, as were most popular singers during that period. The recording was so popular that it inspired Columbia to recruit new song-writers, including Deng Yu-sian, Jhou Tian-wang and Li Lin-chio, to produce Taiwanese-language popular songs (Ye 2001: 70). A large number of famous songs were subsequently published and were widely enjoyed by the Taiwanese people. During this period, Taiwanese-language popular song flourished.

Unfortunately, the development of Taiwanese-language popular song was restricted in the 1930s. In 1936, with plans to invade South Asia, the Japanese government changed their policy regarding Taiwanese culture in general, adopting a policy of partial assimilation in accordance with the aim of “industrialisation, Japanisation, and a base [for]... invading South Asia” (Syue, Li, Dai and Pan 2004: 69, my trans.). The Japanese colonial government took action to re-shape Taiwanese society, launching political, economic, and cultural policies including the abolition of the Chinese-language column in newspapers, promoting the Japanese language as the official language, forbidding ritual activities in January of the lunar calendar, and even preventing Taiwanese people from visiting their religious temples (Syue, Li, Dai and Pan 2004: 69-70). Thereafter, in 1941, the Huangmin Fonggonghuei (Public Service Association of the Imperial Subjects) proposed a ‘movement of new Taiwanese music’ to promote patriotic songs, transform traditional Taiwanese music into a Japanese style, and prevent the record and entertainment industries from marketing jazz and other forms in the English language (Wang 2008: 1-2, 57-58). In

³ The job of the *bianshih* was to explain to the audience in the Taiwanese language what was happening in silent films during the showing. Most *bianshih* were attached to the particular cinema that employed them (Huang ed. 2005: 12).

time, Huangmin Fonggonghuei became stricter in their control over the content of popular songs. If any song was thought to be expressing dissatisfaction or discouragement, it was banned outright (Huang 2000: unknown). The first example of such censorship had occurred earlier, in 1932, when the song ‘Shihjyu Jieyue: Sanyongshih (A Commentary: Three Heroes)’ was banned with sold copies being recalled by the police because the lyrics humiliated the army. Another song ‘Shihye Syongdi (Unemployment Workers)’ produced by Taiping record company in 1934 was banned because the lyrics explored how difficult life was becoming (Jhuang 2009: 26):

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 景氣一日一日歹 | The economic situation is getting worse, |
| 生理一日一日害 | Business is decreasing. |
| 頭家無趁錢 | The boss hasn't earned enough money, |
| 轉去食家己 | So I haven't got any work. |
| 唉唷 唉唷 無頭路的兄弟 | Oh, oh, unemployed workers! |

Taiwanese-language song texts often expressed dissatisfaction and so the ruling government's response was not surprising. Furthermore, the Huangmin Fonggonghuei commonly made Taiwanese songwriters re-write well-known songs in the Japanese language (Huang 2000: unknown). For example, the songs ‘Wangchunfong (Looking Forward to Spring Breeze)’, ‘Yueyechou (Sadness in the Moonlight)’ and ‘Yuyehua (Flowers in the Rain during the Night)’, all written by Deng Yu-sian, were given Japanese lyrics and became patriotic songs (Jhuang 2006: 98-99). This approach continued until the end of the Japanese colonial period, at the close of the Second World War.

After the Second World War, with the country's return to governance by the Republic of China, Taiwan's economic and political condition gradually recovered.

This brought a period of new hope for Taiwanese songwriters. New local record companies were established – and a relatively small but thriving industry grew quite rapidly, with over 20 companies being in existence by 1960. In addition, the Broadcasting Corporation of China was relocated to Taiwan, following the transference of Chiang Kai-shek’s government from the Chinese mainland in 1949 (BCC website accessed in Nov. 2009). The advent of radio greatly fuelled the dissemination of diverse songs to Taiwanese people living in urban cities and rural villages. Simon Frith suggests that “radio was the most significant twentieth-century mass medium. It was radio that transformed the use of domestic space, blurring the boundary between the public and the private, idealizing the family hearth as the site of ease and entertainment, establishing the rhythm of everydayness ... On ‘our’ station we expect to hear our kind of music without ever being quite sure what will come next” (Frith 2003: 96-97). Indeed, world-wide, radio is generally considered to have been the most powerful medium for disseminating music throughout the later part of the twentieth century, constituting an important resource for popular discourse, and actually guiding the tastes of the market – largely determining which particular pop songs become popular. The audience can listen to the radio whenever and wherever they are and have more choices of what they can listen to. Illustrating some of these characteristics, Mei-dai, one of the most popular singers of Chinese-language popular song, when I interviewed her, recalled the very first time she heard a radio:

after I graduated from primary school, I went to Taoyuan city to do odd jobs with my elder sister who was 8 years older than me. That was the first time that I heard a radio, and when I heard the voice I thought it was the wall talking (personal communication on July 30, 2009, my trans.)!

Ji Lu-sia, one of the most popular singers of Taiwanese-language popular song, told me more about the advent of radio with similar recollections of people's responses:

Perhaps there were more radio stations in Taipei, such as Minben, Minsheng, and Jhengsheng, which could only be received in Taipei. You couldn't access them in other places. Jhongguang [BCC radio station] was the only one that could be received in the whole of Taiwan. That I could become so popular - it was something to do with Jhongguang, because I sang songs on Jhongguang programmes like 'Hao Nongcun (A Good Agricultural Village)', which people who lived in the countryside always listened to. One time, when I was presenting the programme in Chiayi, a listener wrote a letter to me to saying: "It is so pitiful, you being hung from the tree" (personal communication on June 23, 2009, my trans.).

The survey that I conducted revealed that 60% of respondents in Chiayi (a small city in the South of Taiwan) and 63% in Taipei (the capital of Taiwan) listened to popular songs on the radio. The evidence indicates that, from the late 1950s to the 1970s, listening to the radio was a common way for Taiwanese people to receive news and music. The growth of local recording companies and radio encouraged younger generation musicians to devote themselves to the domain of popular music, including influential figures such as Hong Yi-fong, Wun Sia, and Wu Jin-huai.

Unlike earlier songwriters before the Second World War, this younger generation achieved fame through being the visible and audible performers of their material; they were singer-songwriters. In the 1950s and 1960s, film-making firms moulded their cinematic content around the songs created by these people and invited them to be key actors (see Figure 1.1). When I interviewed listeners aged over 45, asking "who were the popular singers of Taiwanese-language song from the 1960s to 1980s?", they all included Hong Yi-fong and Wun Sia in their answers, both of whom were acting singer-songwriters. To capitalise on their popularity, some

singer-songwriters managed their own touring song and dance ensembles (see Figure 1.2), while others taught singing technique to wishful students, either in private lessons or group singing classes (see Figure 1.3).




Figure 1.1: A poster for the film ‘Jiouncing Mianmian (Unforgettable Love)’, featuring Hong Yi-fong in 1962 (from Jheng & Guo 2002: 239).



Figure 1.2: An advertisement for the ‘Huanghou Gewutuan (Queen’s Song and Dance Ensemble)’, featuring the trumpet player Yang San-lang⁴ (from *United Daily News* Sept. 2, 1962).

⁴ Earlier, in 1952, Yang San-lang had set up the ‘Black Cat Song and Dance Ensemble’ (Jheng & Guo 2002: 165). In the Taiwanese language, a ‘black cat’ denotes a beautiful girl.



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1. 以培訓流行歌曲人才及發掘唱片業界為主要訓練目的。
2. 以國際級學風為主要訓練方式。
3. 採用唱片製作之專業錄音器材及錄音室為主要訓練設備。
4. 由資深名作曲家、作詞家黃敏先生及新銳唱片製作人黃敏先生聯合實施訓練工作。
5. 著名作品—《心聲》、《北風吹來》、《路不通行》、《小小面盆》、《那那那那那》、《今夜及明天》、《親愛的你》、《特別的陪伴》、《何處去》、《戰火》、《我也甘願》、《人生萬里路》、《都市無聊的晚》……等等。
6. 培養的歌星—張清山、洪學東、陳廣源、方瑞城、張秀珍、李蘭、龍十五、林美香、楊碧蓮……等。

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Figure 1.3: An advertisement for a music class led by Huang Min (a songwriter) (from Lin 1990: 5).

Eyerman and Jamison state that music is a vehicle for representing culture, social values, ideology and identity (Eyerman & Jamison 1998: 41-47). The texts of Taiwanese-language popular song are mostly concerned with losing love, unhappy women, or being far away from home or a loved one, as in the following popular songs: ‘Yueyechou (Sadness in the Moonlight)’ (in 1933) and ‘Yuyehua (Flowers in the Rain during the Night)’ (1933) by Deng Yu-sian, ‘Wangni Zaoguei (Hoping You come back Soon)’ (1946) by Yang San-lang, ‘Jiouncing Mianmian (Unforgettable Love)’ (1960) and ‘Sihmude Ren (Come back to me, My Love)’ (1960) by Hong Yi-fong, and the series of songs about the qualities of motherhood by Wun Sia. It seems that sadness became a defining characteristic and tradition within Taiwanese-language popular song. It is difficult to trace exactly where this pervasive emotion of sadness derives from in terms of musical predecessors but it seems logical to suppose that it partly comes from Taiwanese traditional opera and partly from Japanese *enka*, which singers such as Jheng Rih-cing testify was imported illegally throughout the period of martial law. Liou Sheng-ji, a keyboard and guitar player in the *nakasi* style associated with leisure resorts, who has been performing in singing halls for around thirty years, pointed out to me that most Taiwanese-language popular songs are

imbued with the quality of sadness. Questionnaires and interviews that I conducted with listeners aged under 20 revealed that this interpretation is widespread; in reply to the question “Do you like to listen to Taiwanese-language popular songs and why?”, one out of five claimed that the songs’ contents and slow tempi expressed sad emotions and melancholy reminiscence. One retired teacher pointed out that even the melodies themselves sounded overtly sad.

In stark contrast, the melodies of Chinese-language popular song were lighter and more romantic and the content was optimistic and encouraging, depicting a happy life, patriotic sentiments, and Chinese identity. Chinese-language popular song was originally brought to Taiwan by Chinese immigrants following Chiang Kai-shek’s government to its new home in exile. Siao (he did not wish to give his full name), who played trumpet on TV programmes and in singing halls from the very beginning of the mass Chinese immigration, told me that most of the Chinese popular songs that became famous in Taiwan in the late 1950s and early 1960s originated in Shanghai; only very rarely were new songs composed in Taiwan and, if there were, they would fit the newly created Chinese language lyrics to the covers of Japanese-language popular songs. The latter practice was a common phenomenon in both Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular song because of the need to save money.

The first Chinese-language popular song to achieve hit status was probably ‘Yinanwang (How Difficult for me to Forget you)’, based on the number of records estimated to have been sold in record shops, amounting to approximately one million. Every army unit had its own broadcasting station, and every one of these is said to have owned the album on which the song featured (Jhang 1974: 4). Jheng Hongsheng, who lived in Tainan (South Taiwan), remembered that his father brought

‘Yinanwang’ album home one day, and remarked that this surprised him because Chinese-language popular song albums were not usually popular in the Taiwanese areas. This possibly marked a new period of greater acceptance of Chinese-language song among Taiwanese families in the early 1960s (Jheng 2010: 196). Mei-dai, who sang the vocals on the album, had been performing in singing halls and dance halls in the late 1950s, and it was based on a performance at the ‘Wanguo Lianyishe’ dance hall that a record company owner decided to record an album with her (see Figure 4). The album was produced by Hejhong record company in 1962, before the first singing programme had been launched on TV, broadcasting music to the whole of Taiwan. It was recorded at the United States Information Service studios because the recording engineer Ye He-min was working there (prior to setting up his own studio in his home). Mei-dai told me that there was no air conditioner in the room, so they put a basket containing ice in front of a fan to make it cooler, and sometimes when an aeroplane was flying past or someone was shouting outside to sell food, they would have to restart their recording. Although the album did not earn her much money, it did bring her fame – and this was also the same for other albums produced at that time (Mei-dai personal communication on July 30, 2009).



Figure 1.4: The cover of the album ‘Yinanwang’, featuring Mei-dai (from http://www.vinylparadise.com/3pop_man/1/mpopfmn.htm, accessed in Nov. 2010).

The establishment of Taiwan Television (TTV) in 1962 raised the popularity of Chinese-language popular song with the launch of a singing programme ‘Cyunsinghuei (Chinese Popular Song: Pop Stars)’ in July 1965. Because of its popularity, the programme’s weekly installments were increased from once on Wednesday night to twice on Wednesday night and once on Sunday afternoon (starting from August 1965) (as Mei-dai told me in July 2009, also confirmed by timetables of TV programmes). 30% of my survey participants claimed that ‘Pop Stars’ was their most-viewed singing programme,⁵ Alongside ‘Pop Stars’, other singing programmes also achieved considerable popularity, including ‘Sisiangfong’, ‘Yinhe Syuangong’, ‘Yujiyun Tongle’ and ‘Yidao Caihong’ – all of which focused exclusively on Chinese-language songs rather than the Taiwanese language because most senior and personnel posts at the TV stations were occupied by Chinese immigrants, and there were restrictions regarding the broadcasting of the Taiwanese language. In Chiayi and Taipei, 50 and 55% of those surveyed (respectively) said that the TV was the main medium by which they listened to songs from the 1970s on. So, Taiwanese-language popular song was clearly not the only choice anymore.

In addition, by the 1970s, the film industry produced a series of films about romance featuring scenarios and song soundtracks by Cyong-yao. From the first of her films, ‘Wan-jiyun Biaomei (Cousin Wan-jiyun)’, which was released on 24 August 1965, to the last one, ‘Zuoyejhih Deng (The Light of Last Night)’, which was released on 26 March 1983, she produced a total of 49 films. Cyong-yao's films remained extremely popular and influential throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Huang & Wang ed. 2004: 302). These films were hugely popular, turning many singers of Chinese-language popular song into pop stars, including figures such as Deng Li-

⁵ ‘Pop Stars’ was evidently more popular in Taipei than Chiayi because most Chinese immigrants settled in Taipei. It was a favourite for 57% in Taipei, compared to 17% in Chiayi.

jjyun and Fong Fei-fei. The younger generation of singers attracted the listening public away from the older generation of singers and TV stations were forced to take measures to secure the latter's rights (TV Guide 1979 (183): 20-23). Cyong-yao's films and songs also stimulated songwriters in Taiwan to begin composing Chinese-language popular songs and these new songs soon came to dominate the market, replacing the earlier ones from Shanghai. Under the promotion of Cyong-yao, Liu Jia-chang was undoubtedly one of the most influential of these songwriters and also one of the earliest, creating many hits throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Two well-established songwriter/record producers that I interviewed, Chen Siou-ban and H (who did not wish to be named), considered Liu Jia-chang to have been an amazingly skilled composer – truly the greatest songwriter of that period.

Meanwhile, a social ideology was formed in accordance with anti-Chinese Communist sentiment while also being resistant to Japan (for reasons that will be highlighted in Chapter Two), as well as feeling threatened by international political tensions. Two further types of Chinese-language popular song emerged which fully appealed to the sense of patriotism and national identity. One was sung by general Chinese pop singers, which I shall call 'patriotic popular song' (although it was different from songs for military, but nevertheless, its aim was the same); and the other was particularly written and sung by university and high school students, playing a guitar by themselves, and was known as 'campus song'. 'Campus song' appeared in 1977 and lasted no more than ten years. Part of it concentrated on emphasising a sense of Chinese identity, and it also aroused a sense of pride among young people and had an impact on Chinese-language popular song. It is interesting that this kind of appeal to 'projecting ourselves, fostering mainland China as our motherland' never appeared in Taiwanese-language popular song.

Balliger (1999: 57-69) stresses that lyrics can be used to understand a particular society in a certain period of time implying that a different society would have a different explanation or opinion of the song. For example, some pop songs reveal ideas of anti-colonialism or anti-racism in order to educate people about racial discrimination. Davies (1994: 167-170) suggests that music is a kind of expression of emotion, a bearer of feeling through composition designed by composers and thereby it can provoke a response from audiences. Therefore, the character of Chinese-language popular song mostly depicts a good future, romance, and happiness, while Taiwanese-language song always represents misery, sadness, and living difficulties. Both of them are supposed to reflect what the masses thought and what their desire was during the 1960s to 1980s. The answers might be able to be revealed by examining the social context in which changes in the politics and economics of Taiwanese society took place. Thus, I will consider questions of how collective identity was constructed, how 'campus song' was formed, how youthful pride and dignity was encouraged, and how it re-shaped social values, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Before taking this further, I will first focus on how Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular song was transmitted throughout the 1960s to 1980s.

1.2 The dissemination of popular song

There were a variety of ways in which Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular song were transmitted from the 1950s to 1980s, including in *nakasi*, singing halls, *hongbaochang* (red envelope places), *sueipian dengyai*, radio broadcasting, TV programmes, *laojyun* and various other events. These means of transmission played important roles in the popularization of Chinese- and Taiwanese-language song, enabling them to be heard more easily by the masses. Through researching these

means and venues of performance, it becomes evident that Chinese- and Taiwanese-language songs were listened to mainly by their respective linguistic groups before the 1960s, but that after that, both linguistic groups came to listen to both types of song.

The term *nakasi* denotes a particular type of performer and the type of music that they performed. *Nakasi* first developed in Beitou during the Japanese colonial period. When I interviewed H about the popularity of Taiwanese-language popular song, he said that “it was very popular: when you went to the night market, all you could hear was Taiwanese-language popular song, and it just sounded like *nakasi* were performing it” (personal communication on May 22, 2009, my trans.). One listener who I interviewed, named Jhe, pointed out that *nakasi* mostly played Taiwanese-language popular songs and it seems that *nakasi* and Taiwanese-language popular song are generally closely associated in people’s minds. But, what exactly is/are *nakasi*? Liou Sheng-ji told me that the term *nakasi* denotes a specific form of performance that was played in particular places, most commonly in Beitou’s spring inns.

The term *nakasi* originally comes from the Japanese meaning ‘vagrant artists’. It came to be used specifically for ‘vagrant singers’, in accordance with the way the music was performed. A *nakasi* group normally consisted of a singer (usually a woman), a guitar or keyboard player and a drummer. Hong Yi-fong was among the first generation of *nakasi* singers. Trios of *nakasi* musicians would travel from one spring inn to the next, usually at night, because the Beitou spring inns have always been situated in a red-light district. In Beitou spring inns, there were private rooms for customers to enjoy themselves drinking and listening to *nakasi*, and sometimes, the customers would sing songs by themselves to the accompaniment of the

instrumentalists. At that time, they played a wide range of songs in different languages including Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese and English according to the customers' requests. To make it easier for them to meet the customers' demands, they simplified the more complex chord arrangements into triads. They mainly sang the popular songs of the time usually to rhythmic backings based on slow soul, cha-cha, or tango (or sometimes rumba) (personal communication with Liou Sheng-ji on July 26, 2009). According to the composer Guo Zhih-yuan, preferences for soul, cha-cha, and tango presumably appeared with the emergence of dance music and dance hall in the 1950s (DVD: *The Dance Age* 2003).

In the Beitou spring inns, *nakasi* mainly provided a light background music to help create a pleasant environment for the customers, who were mainly male customers of varying social status. The performers were not paid highly. Usually, they received about 200 NTD per hour, but over the course of a month, they could earn around 80 to 90 thousand dollars because of tips. In the 1980s, they could even exceed 100,000 NTD in a month. It cannot be denied that *nakasi* helped the transmission of popular song in Taiwan from the 1950s to the 1980s, although they did not create or record new popular songs themselves, they performed many other kinds of songs, and they have only ever constituted a very small proportion of popular song performers.

It is commonly held that the term for singing hall, '*geting*', first appeared in reference to the 'Yingciao Luyian Geting (Yingciao Outdoors Singing Hall)' in the 1950s, situated near Jhongjheng Bridge alongside Hsintien River in Taipei County. Appearing at about the same time as the *nakasi* themselves, these 'halls' were not actually buildings but areas of open ground, typically in market places or squares, which were designated for performance and marked out by a rope or some other

boundary. Siao told me that in some of these ‘halls’, including ‘Yingciao Luyian Geting (Yingciao Outdoors Singing Hall)’, there was a roof over the performers’ stage but not over the area where the audiences sat. Eventually, the inferior furniture and acoustic equipment of these open-air venues led to their being replaced by indoor singing halls (see Figure 1.5). Opened in Taipei City in 1956 or 1957, ‘Nanyang Geting (Nanyang Singing Hall)’ was the first ever indoor singing hall in the country, featuring tables and chairs arranged in alternate rows for the audience, superior audio equipment, and providing tea and refreshments. The entrance costs of this new type of hall were substantially higher and so the audience was made of upper middle class individuals, such as professors and officials (personal communication on July 28, 2009). Shortly after that, numerous other halls were established, each specialising in a particular type of leisure activity; there were nightclubs, singing halls, dance halls, and red envelope places. Siao told me the way of performance in the singing halls in the 1950s as follows (personal communication, my trans.):

Q: What was it like performing in the singing halls?

A: There was no anchorman at that time. The progress of the show and the order of items was introduced and arranged by the instrumentalists, mostly under the direction of the ensemble’s leader, who was usually the drummer or pianist... At that time, each singer would usually sing three songs per night.



Figure1.5: An advertisement for ‘Jhaoyanglou geting (Jhaoyanglou Singing Hall)’ (from *Central Daily News* Jan. 4, 1962).

The highest quality decorations were used for those halls that functioned as night clubs, imitating the style of Shanghai nightclubs and sometimes even adopting the names of famous Shanghai clubs. Most ran two shows, from 7:00pm to 9:00pm and from 10:00pm to 12:00pm, but some ran a third, from 1:00 to 4:00am. They had their own in-house ensembles, generally consisting of piano, trumpet, bass, saxophone, tenor, and drum kit, which would accompany guest performers, both native and foreign. These instrumentalists used gestures and codes to communicate important musical information with one another during practice and performance; for example, some counted dollars (in the Taiwanese language) to denote keys, so ‘1 dollar’ meant C major, ‘2 dollars’ meant D major, and so on. Ji Lu-sia said that she performed in the first ever nightclub, ‘Biyuntian Geting (Biyuntian Singing Hall)’, which was located in Ximen in the centre of Taipei and was lavishly furnished like a café, with round tables and sofas. Because the wealthy audience members in this venue were almost entirely Chinese immigrants, the singers’ sets consisted entirely of Chinese-

language popular songs. Ji pointed out to me that the singing halls located on the other side of Taipei city, alongside section 2 of Yanping Road, attracted an entirely different sector of society, specifically upper class Taiwanese who had gained their high social position during Japanese colonial rule (from Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City government website accessed in Nov. 2009). Not surprisingly, in these venues, the singers performed Taiwanese-language popular song. Mei-dai confirmed that, until the 1960s, singing halls exclusively featured either Chinese- or Taiwanese-language popular song.

As Jheng Rih-cing, a singer of Taiwanese-language popular song, pointed out to me, there was another kind of singing hall which was decorated in the manner of a cinema, with rows of chairs and no tables. In some smaller cities and rural towns, it was in fact the local cinema that was used temporarily as a singing hall; an agent, who was in charge of the show, would rent out the venue for a limited period, typically five days to one week. Ji Lu-sia, Mei-dai, and Jheng Rih-cing all recalled how individual singers were allocated a place in the programme according to their popularity; the most popular singers would be given a period of 30 minutes to 1 hour at the end of the programme following a number of support acts (see Figure 1.6). The performing order was sometimes problematic, with singers arguing that they themselves were the most popular and should therefore close the show. The singers would provide the band with scores (see Figures 1.7), which they had previously received from arrangers (commissioned by the singers themselves), and there would always be a rehearsal before the show – a luxury that was not provided before radio programme recordings. The same overall show would typically run for between five days and seven days. Some singers would bring special props and equipment (such as a dry ice machine) to enhance their part of the show (TV Guide 1979 (174): 16-

18). The singing halls became the performance venues of choice for singers because of the high payment that was offered. Ji Lu-sia and Mei-dai told me that they received thousands of dollars per day when they performed at the singing halls in the 1960s; Lin, a university-educated engineer, told me that his salary was only 1,700 NTD per month in 1966.



Figure 1.6: A picture of Ye Ci-tian (in black suit), known as ‘the king of pop’ in Formosa, performing in ‘Taiyang Cheng (Sun city)’ singing hall in Taipei in 1988 (from Lin 2002: unknown).



Figures 1.7: The cover of a nine-instrument score for the song ‘Loudayu Narih (A Rainy Day)’ (left) and the trumpet part for the song (right) (Provided by Jheng Rih-cing).

In the meantime, dance halls and *hongbaochang* (lit. ‘red envelope places’) were

other venues for performing popular song. The dance halls invited singers to perform for one hour each, generally between 6:00pm and 10:00pm every night (see Figure 1.8). The *hongbaochang* was essentially a form of singing hall in which the audience members would express their admiration for a particular singer by giving them a red envelope with money in it (see Figure 1.9); the singers did not receive any wages and rarely made as much money as in the singing halls. Mei-dai told me that this practice was brought over from South-East Asia in the 1960s by singers who had experienced it while on tour. *Hongbaochang* could generally accommodate at least 200 people, seated at long tables, where they would be served snacks and drinks. Liou Sheng-ji and Jheng Rih-cing stressed that, apart from the method of payment and a restriction of five songs per artist, the general format of performance was much the same as in the singing halls. Because these venues almost exclusively catered for soldiers who were the Chinese immigrants, the singers had to perform Chinese-language popular song. Lin Sing-sheng, a trumpeter who accompanied in *hongbaochang* for about ten years, told me that there were typically two shows in a day, from 2:00 to 5:00 in the afternoon and 7:00 to 10:00 in the evening. Lin said to me that the minimum entry fee was rather expensive – tens of dollars in the 1970s (200 NTD in present-day terms). Some of this fee would go to the venue owner but the rest would be allocated later to a singer of the individual's choice. In the 1980s, there were tens of *hongbaochang* but there are only six in Taipei nowadays (personal communication on August 19, 2010, see also *The Liberty Times* Sept. 4, 2011).



Figure 1.8: An advertisement for Wanguo dance hall, emphasising that the main singer was Mei-dai (from *United Daily News* Sept. 2, 1962).

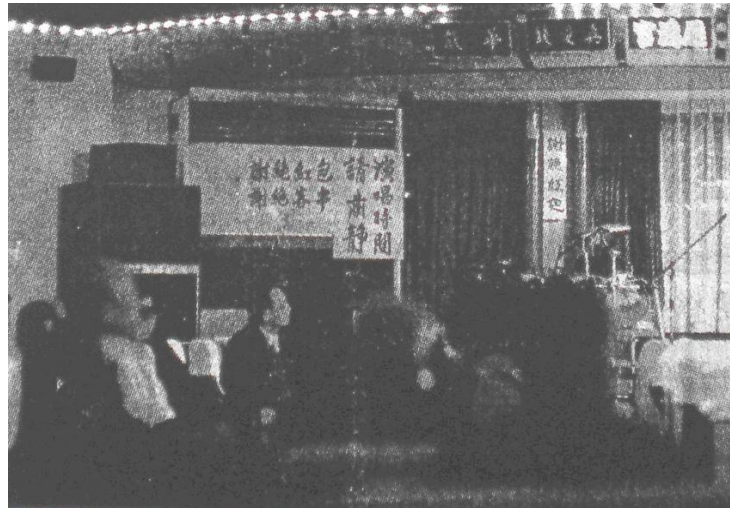


Figure 1.9: The interior of a *hongbaochang* ('red envelope place') (from *United Evening News* April 11, 1991).

All of the aforementioned venues – singing halls, nightclubs, dance halls, and red envelope places – which developed from the same roots remained influential venues for the experience, dissemination, and evolution of popular song until the 1990s, when other forms of media provided increasingly important means for consuming music.

The term '*sueipian dengtai*' (lit. 'singers following films') denotes the live

performances of film songs at film showings by the singer-actor stars who actually featured in the films and recorded the main movie soundtracks. The artists would travel to the cinemas and perform at the beginning, the middle, or the end of the film (see Figure 1.10). This was a popular type of performance throughout Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and South-East Asia (*United Daily News* August 26, 1971). Sometimes, the singer actors would even attend showings in small towns, which did not even have their own cinema but would show films in other buildings. This phenomenon arose as a result of the popularity of Taiwanese-language films in the 1950s and 1960s, with film companies eager to exploit the prestige of the singers to attract bigger audiences. Ye Ci-tian mentioned that he did this kind of performing for the film 'Neishan Guniang Yaochujia' ('a girl living in the mountain is going to marry'), which was named after the song of the same name, and in which he played the hero's role. At the performances, he usually sang the theme song and another two songs and wherever he went there was a crowd lining the street waiting for him. Some people from very rural places would travel quite far by bus or any available vehicle just to see the stars (Lin 2002: 75-79). Ticket prices varied according to the location and décor of the venue and the newness of the film. Tickets to see 'Neishan Guniang Yaochujia' cost seven dollars in Taipei, five dollars in Kaohsiung and Taichung, and one or two dollars in smaller towns. Initially, it was only the Taiwanese language film songs that were performed in this way but the situation changed when films in the Chinese language became popular in the late 1960s. For example, Bai Jia-li, who was referred to as 'the most beautiful emcee' performed at film showings in Hong Kong, Singapore, and other countries in South-East Asia in 1971 (*United Daily News* August 26, 1971). However, by the end of the 1970s, this type of performance had ceased because of television (Lin 2002: 81).



Figure 1.10: An advertisement for a film showing featuring ‘sueipian dengtai’ (from *Central Daily News* Jan. 9, 1959).

The establishment of a radio station in 1949 greatly fueled the popularisation of popular songs in both the Chinese and Taiwanese languages, enabling the masses to access music more easily, especially those who lived in rural areas (see Figure 1.11). Some singers chose to further promote the songs that were being played on air by performing in public spaces, such as market places or in front of temples, and by selling songbooks. For example, the singers Jheng Rih-cing and Hong Yi-fong collaborated in the production and dissemination of songbooks in 1959, featuring Jheng’s transcriptions and Hong’s own illustrations and selling for three dollars each (see Figure 1.12). Three NTD for a songbook was not cheap at that time in comparison to the price of rice, which was only a few dollars per kilo, but the songbooks sold well. Youngsters were particularly drawn to the songbooks because they were inspired by song contests that had just been launched on the radio; if they were able to learn the songs well enough to take part and actually win a competition, they would be able to record their own record and become famous. Jheng Rih-cing

was a keen listener who was initially inspired to perform by the newly launched radio competitions, incredibly going on to win three of them himself in 1957 (see Figure 1.13). Each competitor had to sing two songs to a trio accompaniment often provided by guitar, trumpet, and drum-kit (although violin, saxophone, bass or other instruments could be used instead of guitar and trumpet). The same regulations applied to singers for TV broadcast, although the singers in radio competitions and on TV were not allowed to look at scores. Jheng said to me that, in the 1950s and 1960s, every competitor was free to choose either Chinese- or Taiwanese-language popular songs because, at that time, a large proportion of the population did not speak Chinese, including Jheng himself. Because the radio competitions had proved so popular, the TV stations also launched competition programmes. ‘Tianbian Jyulebu’ was the first of these programmes, launched by TTV station in 1965. TTV station also held annual singing contests from 1967 to 1971, dividing the competitors into two groups, specialising in Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular songs. In the first year, there were around 4,800 and 1,100 participants in these respective groups, with numbers growing in subsequent years. The winners from each group each received 15,000 NTD and went on to sign contracts with TTV station, which exclusively provided performance opportunities and, for some, the position of anchorman (Jhang 2002: 166-174).



Figure 1.11: A picture of villagers gathering to listen to the radio in the late 1950s or 1960s (from National Repository of Cultural Heritage website accessed in July 2011).



Figure 1.12: The cover of a songbook (left) and an extract from the contents (right) (provided by Jheng Rih-cing).



Figure 1.13: A photograph of Jheng Rih-cing during a singing contest (provided by Jheng Rih-cing).

Deng Li-jyun⁶ (see Figure 1.14), who went on to become one of Taiwan's biggest pop stars and a symbol of patriotism after refusing to perform in China, first achieved public recognition by winning a radio competition in 1965 (PolyGram 1995: 6-7). Jheng Rih-cing told me that the judges at this competition were himself, Jhou Tian-wang, and someone else (who Jheng cannot remember). The choice of Jheng and Jhou as judges implies that Taiwanese-language popular song still occupied an important position in the music industry at this period, these two individuals working exclusively in that sphere. The radio competitions encouraged people to pursue singing careers, thereby making this occupation more socially acceptable (discussed further in Chapter Three).



Figure 1.14: A picture of Deng Li-jyun (from PolyGram ed. 1995: 72).

Inevitably, the radio stations selected certain types of song for airplay according to demographics relating to area, popular tastes, age, gender, education, and especially ethnic/ linguistic group. Ji Lu-sia told me that, in the 1960s, the BCC radio programme 'Haonongcun (Good village)' was favoured by country people;

⁶ Deng Li-jyun became a much-imitated singer in China, with Chinese singers imitating her style of singing and songwriters studying the music of her songs. At that time, few popular songs were being produced on the mainland itself. Most popular songs were imported from Taiwan and Hong Kong (Baranovitch 2003: 10-14).

meanwhile, according to Siao (another interviewee), 'Jiousan Jyulebu (Jiousan Club)', which was similarly broadcast by BCC, was popular in the cities. Of course, people in different localities often have rather different tastes, which are, in part, created and reinforced by radio broadcasting (see Keith Negus 1996: 77-78). There is a particularly marked taste discrepancy between those living in relatively developed urban environments and those in more rural areas.

Following the establishment of Taiwan's first TV station, TTV, in 1962, two other stations were created: the China Television Company (CTV) in 1968 and Chinese Television System (CTS) in 1971 (CTV and CTS websites, accessed in Nov. 2009). All of these stations broadcast singing programmes and singing performances were also used to advertise the sale of television sets, with TV manufacturers inviting singers to perform at public demonstrations of their products (see Figure 1.15). Launched in 1965, the aforementioned show 'Pop Stars', produced by Guan Hua-shih and Shen-jhih, finally enabled people to see famous singers, although few actually owned their own television; still, in the early 1970s, only 20% had a set (Huang 2000: unknown). Nevertheless, television broadcasting undoubtedly encouraged the growth of Chinese-language popular song, disseminating it into every corner of Taiwanese society regardless of ethnicity, because the shows mostly concentrated on that repertoire. Siao explained to me that, in the case of 'Pop Stars', the Chinese-language focus largely derived from the fact that the programme's producers and instrumentalists all came from Shanghai; although Shen-jhih was actually born in Taiwan, she had moved to China at the age of 6. A similar focus on Chinese-language popular song was demonstrated, for example, in the CTV show 'Meirih Yising (One Star a Day)' in the 1970s. In every programme, a young generation singer of Chinese-language popular song was invited to perform, and in

this way many Chinese-language stars boosted their careers, including Liu Jia-chang. Wong Siao-liang, a guitarist, songwriter, and producer, told me that he and his band ‘Dianyin’ anchored this singing programme and accompanied all the singers – a rather different format from that employed for ‘Pop Stars’.



Figure 1.15: A newspaper article inviting readers to attend a television demonstration (from *Central Daily News* Jan. 3, 1959).

As Siao recollected, ‘Pop Stars’ initially only featured a small ensemble of six to eight instrumentalists instead of a 40-strong orchestra made up primarily of brass instruments, which was introduced later. Mei-dai explained to me that there was also no anchorman when it was first launched. Instead, the names of singers and songs were provided in subtitles. She remembers that the producer Shen-jhih would tell the singers what to sing and what to wear, sometimes providing the clothes herself. The singers would help to ensure their own success by presenting Shen-jhih with gifts.

Until the 1980s, there were no agents to manage singers’ careers; the choice of which programme to participate in was up to the singers themselves and, in most cases, the singers also had to manage their own wardrobes. It was easier for male singers who invariably wore suits. Female singers were expected to wear *cipao* (a kind of modified traditional Chinese dress) but a sufficiently good-quality *cipao* cost thousands of dollars, which was much more than what the singers were paid for

performing on TV programmes; in fact an appearance on TV paid less than for any other context. In the 1960s, Mei-dai only received 100 dollars for each performance on 'Pop Stars', while she could earn 2000 NTD for a single night in a singing hall. Even in the 1980s and afterwards, singers could only receive 1500 NYD for a TV performance and this sum was taxed at 10%. However, to appear on TV has consistently been the most effective path to fame.

The term '*laojyun*' refers to singing to entertain soldiers at cantonments, a practice that used to be managed by *jiunyoushe* (soldiers' clubs) and which had taken place from the 1950s onwards (see Figure 1.16). The clubs would invite their own local performers and other famous singers to perform on Soldiers' Day (3rd September), national holidays and other events in order to entertain the soldiers. In some cases, locals were also invited to attend the performances in the interests of fostering good relations between the military and civilian domains (*Central Daily News* Sept. 5, 1965). Mei-dai was one of many whose musical careers began through such performances in the 1950s. These events also served as propaganda for people living in mainland China, telling them how wonderful it was to live in Taiwan. As Siao and Jheng Rih-cing recalled, during breaks in the actual performance of popular songs⁷, the singers would be interviewed on air in programmes that could be received by civilians living in the South-East of China. Siao remembers that the singers would typically introduce themselves as follows: "I am xxx from xx. I just want to say hello and let you know I am very well in Taiwan and that living there is excellent, my friends." Even ethnic Taiwanese like Jheng, with no relatives in China, participated in these interviews. After delivering this kind of speech, they would sing songs that had been produced in Shanghai in the 1920s. Ji Lu-sia said to me that it

⁷ The number of performances a day varied from three times in the 1960s and five times in the 1970s.

was only Chinese-language popular songs that were sung in the 1950s. In the 1960s, as Jheng Rih-cing recalled, Taiwanese-language popular songs were introduced into performances and there were even occasions when the entire performance consisted of Taiwanese-language popular song – simply because this was the language which the majority understood.



Figure 1.16: A photograph of Deng Li-jyun singing in front of soldiers at a ‘laojyun’ performance in 1981 (from *Central News Agency* Oct. 23, 2011).

Jheng described the typical performance schedule as follows. It began with a ceremony in which the visiting group – generally consisting of around ten singers, three instrumentalists, and one anchorman – were presented with a national flag and then processed to the site of the military camp; evidently, the event was a formal, political event and highly valued by the government. The performance place was an open-air space in the training grounds, around which the soldiers would stand or sit, sometimes taking advantage of trees or other tall objects to ensure a clear view. The singers would perform according to the officials’ specifications, in a positive, light, and encouraging style. Even though there was profound political tension between mainland China and Taiwan, many singers still opted to participate in these events because the pay was so high (TV guild 1979 (183): 122-123).

There were also opportunities for singers to perform abroad for ex-pat

Chinese communities, especially in Southeast Asia (see Figure 1.17). For example, Yao Su-rong went to perform there in 1980 (*United Daily News* Sept. 8, 1980). Singers could also be invited to perform at events held by organisations or businesses (see Figure 1.18). However, until the mid-1980s, it was mainly singers of Chinese popular song who were privileged to take these opportunities.

It has been shown that the inhabitants of Taiwan experienced popular song through a wide variety of different media, including singing halls, dance halls, *hongbauchang* (red envelope places), *nakasi* performances in the red districts, *laujyun* (military performances), *sueipian dengtai* ('singers following films'), radio, TV, and records. It has also been shown that there were some major shifts in the general tastes of the populace. In the 1950s and 1960s, Taiwanese-language popular song dominated. The 1970s constituted a period of transition with Taiwanese- and Chinese-language popular song sharing the record market and, by the 1980s, Chinese-language popular song had become the favourite in Taiwanese society at large.



Figure 1.17: Mei-dai performing in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (provided by Mei-dai).



Figure 1.18: Celebrating the 20th anniversary of the *United Daily News* (from *United Daily News* Sept. 17, 1971).

1.3 State policy and linguistic discrimination

As mentioned earlier, scholars tend to attribute the decline of Taiwanese-language song's popularity during the 1950s to the 1980s to government policies, most particularly the active promotion of Chinese as the official language to be used in public institutions such as train stations, schools, and post offices, and the limitation of daily airplay time for songs in other languages (see, for example, Zeng 1997: 129-136). But is it really the case that the changes in listeners' tastes can be attributed solely to political interference? Then how can one explain the relative popularity of Taiwanese-language popular song during the Japanese colonial period, when the authorities enforced a 'new Taiwanese music' movement to prohibit songs in Taiwanese language? (Although it has to be admitted that the popularity of Taiwanese-language song has shown some signs of recovering following the lifting of constraints in the 1990s.) Whilst the imposition of restrictive policies must undoubtedly have had a profound influence on song popularity, I argue that it is actually more accurate to attribute the fluctuations in popularity to ideologies and social norms that emerged within society at large, partly in response to policies but also resulting from other identity-forming factors.

Studies of the development and dissemination of popular music in Taiwan,

together with analyses of listener behavior and the changing stoical status of Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular song present a clear picture in which the dominant power in the popular music record market shifted from Taiwanese-language popular song in the 1950s to Chinese-language popular song in the 1980s. But what made the transposition of the dominant role from Taiwanese-language popular song to Chinese-language popular song happen during this period? It should be examined in the context of politics and economics in terms of culture in Taiwan as a whole - I will deal with these issues in the following chapters. Here, I am going to illustrate some policies concerned about popular music first, and to outline that why the government legislated policies of broadcasting and 'Speaking Chinese' to constrain the dissemination of Taiwanese-language popular song and privileged Chinese-language popular song, how the government did to, and its impact on popular song.

In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek fled from the Chinese mainland and relocated the Nationalist Party in Taiwan. His government promulgated a set of policies concerning 'speaking Chinese' to encourage Taiwanese people to speak Mandarin Chinese, to eliminate Japanese ideologies embedded within the Taiwanese culture, and to prepare Taiwan for closer ties with China in the future. The National Languages Committee for promoting 'speaking Chinese', which was established in 1946, actively embedded the policies throughout the education and communications sectors from the 1940s to the 1980s (Li 1999 (2): 14-16). As Max Weber points out: "'Parties' reside in the sphere of power. Their action is oriented toward the acquisition of social power, that is to say, toward influencing social action no matter what its content may be" (Weber 2002: 35). From this point of view, we can understand why the Chinese Nationalist Party forced the Taiwanese people to learn

the Chinese language, and relegated Taiwanese and other dialects to a subordinate category. Owing to shortages of teaching material and personnel, the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office asked the Ministry of Education for help and Wei Jian-gong and He Rong were duly assigned to lead the National Languages Committee. Wei and He arrived in Taiwan from China in January 1946 to initiate the 'speaking Chinese' movement, establishing exactly what constituted 'standard Chinese', setting up courses for teaching Chinese and training tutors, establishing experimental Chinese language primary schools (for piloting new schemes), and publishing Chinese books and other Chinese materials (Syue 2010: 33). Wei Jian-gong, who resigned in June 1947 after setting the regulations, contended that the best method for learning Chinese was through comparison with Taiwanese and he realised that there were other deep-rooted obstacles to overcome: "I think, to Taiwanese people, learning Chinese is not simply a problem of language training: it also concerns problems of culture and ways of thinking" (Huang 2007: 53, my trans.). Therefore, from the 1940s up until the late 1980s, the National Languages Committee announced a series of policies aiming to popularise 'speaking Chinese'. For example, in 1950, it decreed that "every school, college, university, union, organisation, and governmental apparatus has to intensify 'speaking Chinese'". In 1956, it promulgated the slogan 'Yuyan Butongyi, Yingsiang Minzu Tuanjie (It will affect the nation's consolidation if language is not unified)'. And, more seriously, in 1966, a law was introduced that every teacher and student must speak Chinese at all times, otherwise a punishment would be implemented (Shih and Jhang 2003, Appendix 4).

During the period of martial law, there were strict regulations regarding what types of music could be played on air. Certain types of song were prohibited,

including Japanese patriotic songs or songs adapted from Japanese music, although it was relatively easy for songwriters to create cover versions of Japanese records without the authority's knowledge and this certainly happened a lot. Songs sung or written by people who were loyal to the Chinese communist regime or who had returned to mainland China, and songs concerned with the darker side of life and so forth were also prohibited (Chen 2004: 132). The Chinese Nationalist Party controlled the content of popular song more and more, leaving little room for freedom in the writing and performance of songs. It is generally thought that prohibitive laws were primarily responsible for the decline of Taiwanese-language popular songs' popularity. Indeed, in 1953, songbooks published by Rueicheng Bookstore containing a total of 92 songs in dialect were banned, and, the following year, other songbooks published by Jhulin were also banned (Shih and Jhang 2003: Appendix). However, it is clear that the Chinese government also banned a large number of songs in the Chinese language. In 1961, 257 Chinese-language popular songs were banned by the Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters and compiled into a collection that was given to the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Education and other Governmental organisations (*Central News* June 1, 1961). In 1970, the Ministry of Interior and Taiwan Provincial Government published a collection of 183 prohibited popular songs in a volume entitled 'Chajin Gecyu Diyice (Prohibited Songs, Volume 1)', which was disseminated in 1971 to every music-related organisation, with many of the songs included being in the Chinese language (Ministry of Interior ed. 1971: 1-16). Likewise, many of the 433 songs included in the 'Jinjhieh Yanchang Bolu Chupan Gecyu Hueibian (A Collection of Songs Prohibited for Performance, Broadcasting and Publishing)', published in 1975 by the Government Information Office (in the Executive Administration), were in the

Chinese Language (Government Information Office ed. 1975b: 1-32). A songbook published in 1977 includes a list of 751 banned songs – again with many being in Chinese (Lin 1977: unknown).

‘Herih Jyun Zilai (When Will You Come Again)’ and ‘Ganlanshu (Olive Tree)’ were among the Chinese language songs that were banned in the 1970s. The government thought that the ‘Jyun (You)’ in the title of the former song signified the Chinese Communists, and that the content of ‘Ganlanshu’ might encourage young people to become vagrants, with the lyrics ‘my home town is far away’ perhaps stimulating listeners to miss mainland China (Li 2007: 133). Meanwhile, the song ‘Sannian (Three Years)’ (see Example 1.1) was banned because by repeatedly mentioning ‘three years’ the text appeared to contradict the Chinese Nationalist Party’s official five-year programme: ‘Yinain Jhunbei, Ernian Fangong, Sannian Saodang, Wunian Chenggong (Preparation in One Year, Action in Two Years, Attack in Three Years, Success in Five Years)’.

Example 1.1: Sannian (Three Years)

| | |
|------------|---|
| 想得我腸兒寸斷 | I miss you so much, |
| 望得我眼兒欲穿 | I keep looking outside (looking forward to seeing you). |
| 好不容易望到了你回來 | Finally you are back, |
| 算算已三年 | It has been three years. |
| 想不到才相見 | I just see you, |
| 別離又在明天 | But you are leaving tomorrow . |
| 這一回你去了幾時來 | When will you return this time? |
| 難道又三年 | Is it another three years? |
| 左三年 又三年 | Three years, three years, |
| ... | |

When I was a first year student at high school in 1984, our school year put on a show for the annual sport event, which was originally to include a song entitled ‘Longde Chungren (Descendants of the Dragon)’, a famous representation of China. However, just one week before the performance, the teacher substituted another song ‘Jhonghuaminguo Song (Ode to the Republic of China)’, leaving little time for us to practice new dance moves. Why did the teacher change the song at the last minute? ‘Longde Chungren (Descendants of the Dragon)’ had been banned because the songwriter Hou De-jian had returned to mainland China.

On 1st June 1961, the Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters stipulated 10 reasons for banning certain Chinese songs in the ‘*Central News*’ newspaper, along with a list of 257 songs that had recently been banned (see Figure 1.19 below):

1. Demonstrating favour for the Chinese communists
2. Copying tunes of songs from mainland China
3. Including lyrics that are downhearted and might depress the masses
4. Including illogical reasoning in the lyrics, thereby negatively influencing young people
5. Having lewd content
6. Including melody and lyrics that are too exciting, which could damage society
7. Encouraging violence
8. Writing about inappropriate social or political events, thereby encouraging mass misunderstanding
9. Including overly coarse lyrics
10. Tunes too melancholy



Figure 1.19: Information of 257 Chinese-language popular songs is banned (from *Central News* June 1, 1961).

From the mid-1940s, after Taiwan had returned to Chinese rule, the aims of the Government Information Office and its former administrators had been to guide and administrative TV and radio broadcasts and to set regulations (R.O.C. TV committee ed. 1975: 209), ensuring that the programmes function for and disseminate traditional Chinese culture and concepts, and promulgate social functions such as educating the masses. In order to achieve these aims, an array of broadcasting regulations were announced regarding the contents of programmes, with rewards and penalties given to TV and radio stations according to their performance (Liou 1990: 291-327). From the initial arrival in Taiwan of the Chinese Nationalist Party, in 1945, the responsibility for controlling the broadcasting industries then changed hands a number of times: from 1950 to 1951, a committee was established for this purpose during a period known as ‘Guangbo Shihye Fudao Hueiyi Shihci (The Guidance Period of Broadcast Industries)’; from 1952 to 1958, the Ministry of Education performed this role; from 1959 to 1967, control was shared by both the Ministry of Transportation and Communication and the Government Information Office; from 1967 to 1973, control returned to the Ministry of Education – specifically the Department of Cultural Affairs; and, lastly, from 1973, control went back to the

Government Information Office (Lin, Gu and Huang 2004: 2-5). Throughout this long four-decade period, policy adhered to President Chiang Kai-shek's instruction: "Mass media is the most important part of cultural industry, so it must be regulated intensively".

It was in October 1958 that regulation became formally enshrined in law. The first regulation applying to radio broadcasting, 'Diansinfa (Regulation of Communication)', did not restrict language utility (R.O.C. TV committee ed. 1975: 208). Shortly afterwards, however, in 1959, the regulation 'Guangbo Wusian Diantai Jiemu Gueifan (the Administration of Radio Programmes)' decreed that the proportion of programmes in dialects should not exceed 40% of airplay time. Initially, this regulation was not strictly adhered to by some broadcasters, so in 1963 the laws were tightened up and expanded to cover all broadcasting networks in the regulation 'Guanbo Gi Dianshih Wusian Diantai Jiemu Fudao Jhunze (Guidance of Radio and TV Programmes)' (Zeng 1998: 130-131).

In 1976, the most long-lasting regulation concerning radio and TV broadcasting censorship was published for the first time: 'Guanbo Diantai Fa (Regulations for Radio and TV)'. This decreed that the content and melody of songs should serve the functions of educating and encouraging the masses, that a suitable balance of various song types (romantic, patriotic, and so on) should be maintained, that no songs should be over-played during the span of a day unless they were performed by different singers. The regulation also decreed that the daily sequence of songs and the content of every programme must be examined before being played on air (R.O.C. TV committee ed. 1978, 140-145; see also Liou 1990: 291-327). In addition, and perhaps more importantly, the 20th regulation limited the amount of Taiwanese language used on the radio to no more than 45% on AM radio, and no

more than 30% on FM radio and television and decreed that, with each passing year, the proportion of Taiwanese language would be reduced. There was a further restriction regarding the number of Taiwanese language songs that could be included in singing programmes on both TV and radio per day (Jhong 2008: 22).

Frequently, singers of Taiwanese-language popular song would arrive at TV studios to record for a singing programme, only to be told: “I am very sorry but you cannot perform today because two Taiwanese-language popular songs have already been sung”. Sometimes they would be told to arrive earlier next time or would have to give up their turn to a singer of Chinese-language popular song (Lin 2002: 104-105). Jheng Rih-cing explained to me that, because only one Taiwanese-language song was allowed each day in the 1970s, if there were ten singers eager to perform, they would each have to wait at least ten days for the opportunity. At around this time, those singing programmes on TV that had specialised in Taiwanese language songs, such as ‘Baodao Jhihge (Songs of Formosa)’ and ‘Lyudao Jhihye (Green Island Night)’, had to close down owing to this policy. Thus, singers of Taiwanese-language popular song had to resort to performance on the radio and in singing halls.

Another way in which the authorities regulated singers was through the introduction of singing licenses. In 1955, the Executive Yuan (the body of Administration) stipulated that anyone who was to sing in public had to have a singing license and that if any singer performed a banned song then their license would be removed (Jhao 2009: 119). To receive a license, one had to pass an examination. Jheng Rih-cing explained to me that the examinations happened once a month, and that one had to sing two songs: a prescribed song from an assigned songbook containing 20 Chinese-language popular songs, chosen at random just before the examination, and a song of one’s own choice, in any language. Four or

five judges would examine one's singing ability. Jheng had to work very hard to memorise all of the Chinese-language popular songs in the book as he was not good at speaking Chinese. At that time, the singing license was a tiny notebook, having decreased in size after the first two editions (see Figure 1.20). Before every performance, singers had to receive an official stamp of permission from a government officer. Moreover, in order to get permission of performance for the coming year, the singers had to ensure to the government that they were still in public by the end of the year that a commissioner would approve it by stamping on the singing licence.

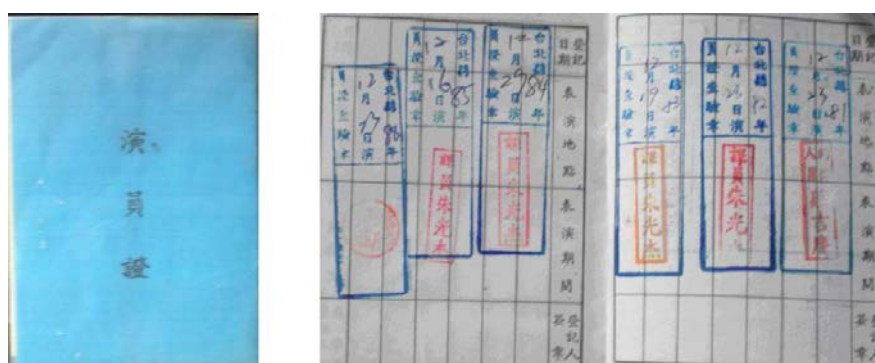


Figure 1.20: The cover and inside of the singing licence (10.8 x 7.2 x 0.2cm) (provided by Jheng Rih-cing).

Although required by law, some singers managed to perform without a singing license, for example by saying that they were simply another member of a dance group when invited to perform at a singing hall. However, some singing halls advertised their singers as soloists, featuring famous singers of Chinese-language popular song such as Jhang Li-min and Shao Ciao-yin, drawing attention from the Department of Social Welfare and resulting in stricter checking of singers' licenses. Subsequently, numerous singers and actors were no longer able to perform in singing halls, including Che Syuan, Chen Sha-li, Jiang Ming, and Dong De-ling. Others,

such as Sun Cing, a male singer of Chinese-language popular song, managed to quickly sort out their licenses and thereby save their public singing careers (TV Guide 1979 (183): 30-33).

The government also supervised the content of TV programmes and the singers' behaviour and appearance. In 1971, TTV station initiated a movement to 'Purify the content of popular song', with 150 singers and programme producers signing their names to support the initiative. This movement was rewarded by the Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters, which considered the objectives to be virtuous and do-able (Jhang 2002: 173). In 1974, a committee was established with support from the Government Information Office to undertake an ambitious project: 'Guangbo Dianshih Gecyu Fudao Jhuanan Siouzu (A Project to Guide Songs Played on Radio and TV)'. The committee met 30 times and chose 1,235 'good songs' from a total of 8,234 popular songs, eventually producing 'Guangbo Dianshih Gecyu Jhuanji (A Collection of Popular Songs for Broadcasting on Radio and TV)'. The committee gave this collection to every radio station for reference (R.O.C. TV Committee ed. 1975: 208). In the same year, another committee 'Guangbo Dianshih Gecyu Tueiguang Weiyuanhuei (Committee for Promoting Good Songs on Radio and TV)' was established by a Lions Club from the Republic of China and three TV stations, with the aim of propagating Chinese culture and 'pure music' in order to improve the social environment. This committee held song composition competitions in which contestants would compose for the following song categories: patriotic songs, songs for the army, folk songs, songs for children, art songs and popular songs. The contestants would specialise in either writing the song lyrics or composing the melody (Government Information Office 1975a: 68). There were also competitions for song performance; for example, from the second half of 1960s to the 1970s, TTV

and other stations, together with various governmental organizations, held and broadcast contests devoted to the performance of patriotic songs (National Repository of Cultural Heritage website accessed in Dec. 2010).

In 1978, three TV stations received notification from President Chiang Ching-kuo that the content of their singing programmes was not suitable for audiences to watch. In response, the three offending TV stations modified the content of their programmes towards conveying knowledge, educating the audience, and instilling discipline (*United Daily News* Sept. 30, 1978). A plan to ‘purify the content of TV programmes’ was proposed by the Confucius-Mencius Society of the Republic of China at its eighteenth conference. It was suggested that TV programmes could profoundly affect the masses in various negative ways, and especially influence children’s behaviour, leading to more adolescent crime. The TV stations publicly agreed with the committee’s findings and expressed willingness to adjust the orientation of their programmes’ contents in order to reach the target of performing a positive social function in the media (*United Daily News* Oct. 2, 1978).⁸

The Chinese Nationalist Party controlled Radio and TV broadcasting in various ways in addition to enforcing regulations. They also held symposiums several times a year and everyone who worked in radio and TV stations was obliged to attend these, including singers, emcees, managers, producers, and engineers (Chen 2004: 136-137.). For example, in 1969, the Department of Education ran courses for singers, explaining the various regulations (*United Daily News* July 28, 1969). The Government Information Office required singers and actors to be careful of their appearance. In October 1970, the Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters held a symposium directed by Bai Wan-siang, the Security Department, Department of

⁸ Earlier, in 1976, the Government Information Office had noticed that some TV programmes were advertising commercial products which were not allowed. Then too, the Office warned TV stations that they had to behave themselves not to contravene the law (*United Daily News* Dec. 10, 1976).

Police, and TTV and CTV Stations (these being the only two TV stations at that time), with other organisations also obliged to participate. The aim of the symposium was to prevent the younger generation from imitating the image of Western hippies. There had recently been a wave of Beatle mania in Taiwan and the ruling powers wanted to prevent the band's long hair, bizarre clothes and behaviour from damaging society. The Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters asked security and education units to examine the appearance of the masses, and prevent singers and actors from adopting any hippy-like traits in their appearance and performance (Syue 2010: 235). In 1973, Central Union (a department of the Chinese Nationalist Party) praised the male singers and actors of CTV for conforming to the ideas proposed by the Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters, actively advocating an ethic encapsulated in the slogan: 'Duanjheng Fongci, Buliou Changfa (Improve Social Environment, No Long Hair)' (R.O.C. TV Committee ed. 1975: 232). For example, males were not allowed to have long hair or whiskers and were not to wear bizarre clothes when they attended TV programmes. Sun Cing, who belonged to CTV, was prohibited from performing for three months because he had long hair and whiskers (*United Daily News* Oct. 6, 1976).

In modern societies, the ruling class often creates a cultural environment promoting its interests through the mass media, entertainment businesses, and so forth, which it controls. It privileges particular projects that promote certain values and marginalises projects that promote opposing values, thereby limiting the need for more oppressive, coercive, and interfering methods (Hughes, Martin, & Sharrock 1999: 57). In Antonio Gramsci's terms, the dominant class often rules and controls the dominated class by broad agreement through processes of hegemony. Through control of the means of production and the cultural products themselves, the ruling

class achieves hegemony, ensuring that their power is backed by the consent of the collectivity (cited in Hughes, Martin, & Sharrock 1999: 76-77).

Croteau & Hoynes (2000: 25-27) propose that there are four elements that can play a part in re-shaping the structure of society: the media message or product, readers or audiences, technology, and the media industry. These four elements interact and interweave to form the social world, shaping people's preferences and behaviour. As we have seen, the Nationalist government in Taiwan, recognising the power of mass media, closely supervised TV, radio and also the newspapers, controlling the content of TV programmes in such a way as to marginalise opposing ideas and privilege its own ideology. Eventually, some singers of Taiwanese-language popular song, including Hong Yi-fong and Wun Sia, had to go to Japan to seek performance opportunities (Guo 2005: 36-115).

Timetables of TV programmes in the late of 1970s show that Taiwanese language broadcasting only amounted to 30 minutes per day – approximately one eighth or one tenth of the amount of Chinese language broadcasting (the overall broadcasting time differing at the weekends). It is no surprise that there were no singing programmes in the Taiwanese language at that time. Traditional puppet drama in the Taiwanese language had been extremely popular in 1970, when the series 'Yunzhou Darusia (A Hero from Yun-Jhou)' was performed by Huang Jyun-syong on CTV. The main puppet 'Shih Yan-wun' became such a hero that, when asked in primary school examinations "Who is the greatest hero of this country?", students would answer 'Shih Yan-wun'. However, from 1973 to 1983, in keeping with regulations, the puppet drama was broadcast in the Chinese language, following earlier Chinese language puppet dramas, the first of which appeared in 1963. Because it suffered a loss in popularity during this time, the show was thereafter

dropped from TV for eight years (Chen 2007: 235-236, 249-250). One viewer that I spoke to, named Tsai, explained that the traditional Taiwanese puppet drama lost its character and became tasteless when translated into Chinese, so he stopped watching it. Clearly, Taiwanese-language popular song and dramas disappeared from TV.

The transmission of Taiwanese-language popular song on radio was not as restricted as on TV. There are two main broadcasting waves in Taiwan: FM and AM. While FM radio is broadcast throughout the whole island and mainly utilises the Chinese language, AM broadcasts in local areas, mostly in Taiwanese. I asked Jheng Rih-cing whether the government's policies negatively affected performance opportunities for singers of Taiwanese-language popular song; he replied strongly in the affirmative for TV but 'not really' in the case of radio, where more than ten Taiwanese-language popular songs could be played on air per day in 1970s. If this was so, why had some singers of Taiwanese-language popular song felt forced to give up their singing careers or travel abroad to find opportunities? Jheng answered that singers could only find and maintain fame if they appeared on TV programmes. As Jheng rightly pointed out, whereas listeners could often treat radio broadcasts as background accompaniment to other activities such as cooking or having a shower, TV tended to be experienced in a more focused way with members of the family sitting together to enjoy programmes after work or school. However, it is clear that television was not widely appreciated for several decades. Following the launch of the first TV station, TTV, in 1962, it was not until October 1965 that broadcasting could be received in the South of Taiwan, although reception was still poor in that area (*Central News* Oct. 10, 1965). Plus, in the 1960s, less than 20% of families owned a TV. CTV was launched in October 1969 and CTS in October 1971 but broadcasting was still not available in the East of Taiwan and mountainous areas

(constituting 60% of Taiwanese land). In fact, TV was not available and widely appreciated throughout the whole of Taiwan until the end of the 1970s, when most families owned a TV set (Li 1997: 254).

Profoundly limited broadcasting ranges and low TV ownership levels throughout Taiwan meant that TV did not exert great influence during the first two decades of its existence. In spite of the aforementioned regulations, the younger generation of singers of Taiwanese-language popular song enjoyed great popularity during the late 1960s (figures such as Ye Ci-tian), the 1970s (Hong Rong-hong) and 1980s (Jiang Huei). Perhaps singers such as Hong Yi-fong and Wu Sia, who had had to find work abroad and thereafter were unable to regain their popularity, suffered these experiences not solely on account of regulation but also because they were not young any more, being in their forties in the 1970s. Likewise, the oldest singing programme 'Cyunsinghuei (Pop Star)' was stopped in 1977, largely because it had not moved with the times and viewer ratings had fallen to such an extent that the TTV station no longer benefitted from it (Wang 2007: 24). It is clear that much of Taiwanese popular culture was aimed at a young audience as a form of youth culture (see Shuker 1995: 226-227).

A commonly cited reason for the decline of Taiwanese-language popular song's popularity is the extensive practice of cover version of Japanese-language songs into Taiwanese, in preference over creating new songs by Taiwanese songwriters. Naturally, this led to a shortage of Taiwanese language songwriters. However, some individuals did manage to achieve fame as original songwriters, for example Hong Yi-fong and Wu Jin-huai. And yet, at the same time, a large number of highly popular Chinese-language songs were similarly cover versions of Japanese-language songs, using much the same processes as for Taiwanese-language popular

song; for example, ‘Yinanwang’, ‘Rongshusia (Beneath the Banyan Tree)’, ‘Singyede libie (Saying Goodbye on a Night Full of Stars)’, and ‘Wojhih Zaifuni (I Only Care about You)’. In sum, all evidence shows that censorship and constraints on broadcasting affected the popularity of Taiwanese-language popular song only partly, especially when the 20th regulation limiting Taiwanese language daily broadcasting on Radio and TV was abolished on July 14, 1993. But it is clear that Taiwanese-language popular song no longer attracted a substantial audience (National Repository of Cultural Heritage website accessed in Oct. 2010 – see bibliography for full URL details hereafter). So the question remains: what really caused the decline of Taiwanese-language popular song and shifted the listeners’ tastes in popular songs from the Taiwanese language to Chinese?

The aforementioned policy of promoting ‘speaking Chinese’ was, indeed, all-pervasive. Choice of language became politicised and ideological; the Chinese language represented high social class and status and loyalty to the motherland, while the Taiwanese language represented poor education, low status, and separation from the motherland (Sandel 2003: 523-548). Because Chinese pronunciation was difficult for native Taiwanese speakers to achieve, the associations of language use with level of intelligence and education became especially apparent.

In schools, teachers and staff were required to enforce the speaking of Chinese. If a student spoke Taiwanese or another local language, he or she would be punished by being beaten, or being made to pay a fine, wear a placard, or stand in a public place in shame. The former president Li Teng-huei recalls:

I am more than seventy years old. Having lived under different regimes, from Japanese colonialism to Taiwan’s recovery, I have fully experienced the miseries of the Taiwanese people. In the period of Japanese colonialism, a Taiwanese would be punished by being

forced to kneel out in the sun for speaking *Tai-yu* (*Tai-gi*)⁹. The situation was the same when Taiwan was recovered (by the KMT – the Kuomintang): my son, Hsien-wen, and my daughter-in-law, Yueh-yun, often wore a dunce board around their necks in the school as punishment for speaking *Tai-yu*. I am very aware of the situation because I often go to the countryside to talk to people. Their lives are influenced by history. I think the most miserable people are the Taiwanese, who have always tried in vain to get their heads above the water. This was the Taiwanese situation during the period of Japanese colonialism; it was not any different after Taiwan's recovery. I have deep feelings about this (quoted in Sandel 2003: 523).

The bonuses paid out to each teacher at the end of each year were partly determined by the individual's effectiveness at preventing students from speaking local languages. I asked Tsai, a manager in an insurance company from a Taiwanese family, if he had ever been punished for speaking Taiwanese when he was at primary school. He told me that he had not but that some of his classmates were asked to stand in the playground because they had spoken Taiwanese. Through humiliation, the language became a source of shame. When I was in my fifth grade at school, there was a hit Chinese-language popular song which contained the lyrics 'miss, miss, so beautiful, so beautiful', the word 'beautiful' being sung in Taiwanese. One day, I was caught singing these words to myself during break time and was made to pay a fine of five dollars, which, at that time, was more than enough to buy a bowl of noodles. Thereafter, I was careful not to speak Taiwanese in public. Some teachers placed a placard with 'I do not speak local language' written on it around the offender's neck (see Figure 1.21); the individual was forbidden to take it off until the end of the day. Some children would routinely report Taiwanese speakers to their teachers, leading to a climate of distrust throughout the school grounds.

⁹ *Tai-yu* (*Tai-gi*) is a word often used by Taiwanese speakers to denote the Taiwanese language.



Figure 1.21: Students were punished by being made to wear a placard and stand in the corner of the classroom (<http://blog.roodo.com/fairy220/archives/7183681.html>, accessed in Jan. 2010).

The ability to speak standard Chinese well was crucial for Taiwanese actors, there being no Taiwanese language dramas or programmes to participate in. Some Taiwanese actors and actresses, including Ai-zih-cai and Liou-ge, duly tried to learn Chinese from mainland Chinese actors, although they tended to give up after learning for several months because of difficulties in pronunciation (Lin 2002: 105). The famous pop star Li Li-hua claimed that she lost many performance opportunities because her Chinese speaking was not precise. However, in pursuit of her career, she determinedly learnt standard Chinese from a colleague, practicing by reading out newspaper articles every day. She eventually became so proficient that she was able to acquire an emcee position for two TV programmes (TV Guide 1979 (183): 136-138).

The shift in tastes away from Taiwanese-language popular songs to Chinese-language songs had little to do with the qualities of the music itself – aspects of musical structure, timbre, melody, or rhythm. Rather it happened as a result of broader transformations in the values of Taiwanese society, especially relating to language. Indicative of this, there are many cases of songs that were originally in the

Japanese or other languages being rerecorded in the Chinese and Taiwanese language, for example, a song entitled 'Singsing Jhih Wuosin (The Stars Understand Me)' sung by Wu Sia (CD track 1) in the Taiwanese language and by Bao Na-na (CD track 2) in the Chinese-language. The titles of these two songs sounds similar. Another example is the song 'Kujiou Manbei (A Glass of Bitter Wine)' sung by Sie Lei was a hit in 1967 and this was essentially identical to the Taiwanese song 'Beiliande Jioubai (Drinking Glasses of Bitter Wine in Remembering a Sad Love)' but for the words (Tsai 2007: 65).

In the United States, teenagers had eagerly consumed jazz, rhythm and blues, and rock 'n' roll, despite outcry from the authorities and subsequent limited broadcasting, thereby encouraging racial integration and other sociological developments (see Altschuler 2003: 35-66). On the contrary, in Taiwan, under the influence of a more controlling regime, the Taiwanese people unconsciously gave their consent to the Nationalist government, allowing them to manipulate the media and institutions and to control thoughts and tastes. In keeping with Gramsci's theory of hegemony, a new social value emerged in which the Chinese language signified a high level of social status, a better standard of living, and a good future. Yi, an undergraduate studying music, told me that she did not like to listen to Taiwanese-language popular songs because they are vulgar, tasteless and inferior. Ying, in her fifties, has the same opinion as Yi. The association of 'Chinese' with high culture and 'Taiwanese' with low culture is reflected in listeners' perspectives on Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular song; the songs have come to delineate linguistic and socio-economic differences and segregation. The Nationalist government and its far-reaching policies is the central factor affecting the listener's attitude towards popular song.

Another influential factor underlying the change in tastes is language comprehension. Education has enabled the Taiwanese people to understand the Chinese language. The government statistics reveal that the number of graduates from all levels of education rose enormously from the early 1970s (See Table 1) (Education Annual Book 5(2): 1874-1875, 1883-1884, 1908; 6(1): 1422). At about the same time as the level of education rose, the Nationalist government was limiting the transmission rate of Taiwanese-language popular songs and compelling students to speak Chinese in public.

Table 1.1: Number of students graduating from each level of education

| Senior high school | | Technical high school | | College | | University | | Masters | | PhD | |
|--------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------|---------|--------|------------|--------|---------|--------|------|--------|
| year | number | year | number | year | number | year | number | year | number | year | number |
| 1973 | 57,837 | 1973 | 63,862 | 1973 | 25,807 | 1973 | 21,315 | 1976 | 4,138 | 1976 | 363 |
| 1993 | 238,660 | 1982 | 111,316 | 1982 | 40,749 | 1982 | 32,574 | 1993 | 28,117 | 1993 | 7,713 |

Nowadays, because the government's 'speaking Chinese' programme has been so effective, the younger generation is less receptive to Taiwanese-language popular song. While the vast majority can at least speak fluent Chinese, many cannot speak Taiwanese at all. For young people living in towns and cities, the first language is invariably Chinese, whatever their ethnicity. As a result, there is a wide gap between the older and younger generations, giving rise to serious problems of communication. For example, Yuan, a commissioner from the rural countryside now lives in Taipei. His sons cannot speak or comprehend Taiwanese, but his parents can only speak Taiwanese. Although my niece can comprehend Taiwanese, she rarely has opportunities to speak it because she lives in Taipei. She feels uncomfortable when she speaks Taiwanese owing to her pronunciation. In my questionnaire, I asked the question: 'Do you like to listen to Taiwanese-language popular song? And why?'

16% of teenage respondents answered in the negative saying that they were not sufficiently able to comprehend the Taiwanese language. Although language comprehension clearly affects the popularity of songs in Taiwan, interestingly, many teenagers are in favour of popular songs in English, Japanese and other languages – even when they can't understand the words. This suggests quite clearly that the reasons why songs in Taiwanese were dwindling in popularity during this period had more to do with questions of status than with questions of comprehensibility.

Conclusion

Taiwanese-language popular song developed in the 1930s with the introduction of modern technologies under Japanese colonial rule. Under the successive regimes of Japanese colonial rule and the Chinese Nationalist government, it faced challenges which inhibited its popularity, and Chinese-language popular song was increasingly accepted by native Taiwanese people. With the growth of the economy, propagation of education, and government legislation privileging the Chinese language, it became much easier for Taiwanese people to comprehend Chinese-language popular songs. All these factors formed an environment in which listeners' tastes shifted towards Chinese-language popular songs.

The Chinese language became associated with high culture and status, while Taiwanese came to indicate low social status. No-one wants to be perceived as uneducated and belonging to a low social class so, gradually, the Taiwanese people abandoned their mother tongue, unknowingly giving their consent to what the government was cultivating. This affected their attitude towards popular song, the most significant shift in tastes from Taiwanese-language popular song to Chinese-language songs occurring in the period from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Clearly, the change in taste was a forced process and it had little to do with musical characteristics. As social climbers in pursuit of a high quality of life, the populace adopted the government's ideology of pro-Chinese loyalty and hierarchical evaluations. Taiwanese-language popular song gradually lost its public. As Max Weber argued (cited in Hughes J, Martin P, & Sharrock W 1999: 110-111), people tend to evaluate the position of others as higher, equal, or lower than their own; they respect someone equal to them or better than them, but they shun those subordinate to them – and, thus, social groups are formed. Weber labels these 'status groups'. 'Status groups' are not formed exclusively on the basis of wealth; other crucial determinants are manner and behaviour, and the ways in which they connect the individual to other prestigious people within long-established social classes – the ways they are educated, the schools they have chosen, the cultural activities they attend, the commodities they consume, and the tastes they demonstrate. Weber's observations can help us to understand why the Taiwanese listeners' tastes changed. They also point towards the reasons why today's teenagers like to listen to popular songs in English, Japanese and other languages even though they do not understand the words; in essence, they want to associate themselves with countries that are perceived to be more modern and wealthy. Obviously, cultural hegemony no longer comes from China alone, but also from the West.

Chapter 2: Turning ‘the others’ into ‘the same’: Functions of patriotic popular song

From the beginning of its rulership in Taiwan in 1945, the Chinese Nationalist Party endeavoured to promote a particular hierarchical social organisation and also to promote the conception that ‘we are all Chinese’ – including the aboriginal population. From the early 1950s, the Party used songs as a tool to convey Chinese identity to the masses with the theme of ‘Great China’ being highly conspicuous in every kind of art – literature, music, drama, and so on – as a means to indoctrinate the Taiwanese people. Song is a potent educational force and an effective means for implanting particular ideas among the mass of the population; with the superficial motivation appearing to be entertainment, the listeners offer little resistance. R. Serge Denisoff examined the texts of civil rights songs, war-propaganda songs and labour movement songs, in order to explore how messages are transmitted and what the underlying motivations are (Denisoff 1968: 238-247). He isolated six primary goals as follows:

(1) the song solicits and arouses outside support or sympathy for a social movement or attitudinal orientation; (2) the song reinforces the value system of individuals who are a priori supporters of a social movement or ideology; (3) the song creates and promotes cohesion and solidarity in an organization or movement supporting the singer’s or composer’s ideological position; (4) the song attempts to recruit individuals to join a specific social movement; (5) the song invokes solutions to real or imagined social phenomena in terms of action to achieve a desired goal; and (6) the song directs attention to some problem situation or discontent, generally in emotion laden terminology (Denisoff 1968: 239).

Clearly, one of the overriding functions of propaganda songs – a category that naturally includes patriotic songs – is to attract listeners to join a particular movement (union, institution, organisation, or governing body) and firmly establish certain objectives as defining features of this group. To facilitate this ideal of ‘national-popular will’, songs tend to assert that all members of the in-group are equal regardless of social class, gender, or ethnicity. Within the in-group, there is a projected blurring or even nullification of boundaries between classes and other sectors. Accordingly, in the case of Taiwan, the ‘we are all Chinese’ message was intended to promote unity among the Taiwanese people and the Chinese immigrants. Serving the Chinese Nationalist government’s agenda, the mass media and the education system propagated the virtues of Chinese identity and ideology throughout Taiwanese society, with two forms of popular song becoming particularly important in this regard: ‘patriotic popular song’ and ‘campus song’ (the latter is discussed in the following chapter). Understanding ideology to be ‘a self-contained set of political opinions’ or ‘biased views’, in his article ‘From Culture to Hegemony’, Dick Hebdige suggests that it actually permeates our daily life, becoming a ‘natural common sense’ in society, which people accept without questioning. But how is this permeation achieved? As Hebdige explains, hegemony through mass media and education is the key factor (Hebdige 1993: 362-364):

The term hegemony refers to a situation in which a provisional alliance of certain social groups can exert ‘total social authority’ over other subordinate groups, not simply by coercion or by the direct imposition of ruling ideas, but by ‘winning and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural’... subordinate groups are, if not controlled, then at least contained within an ideological space which does not seem at all ‘ideological’: which appears instead to be permanent and ‘natural’, to lie outside history, to be beyond particular interests (ibid: 365).

The roles played by the American mass media in mediating cultural hegemony, as discussed by Hebdige, appear to have been present and influential in Taiwan also. Hebdige's work helps to elucidate the Chinese Nationalists' guidance of song in Taiwan to promulgate Chinese cultural identity.

I have adopted the term 'patriotic popular song' to denote those songs that projected a pro-China message, were produced and disseminated by the entertainment industry, and were mass-consumed (as opposed to being sought out by a minority of connoisseurs); as such, it should be emphasised that the category does not include patriotic songs sung exclusively by the military, or sung by civilians at special events and festivals such as the day of Chiang Kai-shek's death.

The Taiwanese people had originally come from mainland China and already shared, to some extent, customs, religion and culture with the recently arrived Chinese immigrants. To a certain extent, they even regarded themselves as Chinese, a self-perception that remained strong since the Japanese colonial period (see Huang, Jhang and Wu 2003). One might then ask: why did the Chinese Nationalist Party consider that re-education through song and other media were necessary? From the 1950s, political tension intensified between mainland China and Taiwan and, during the 1950s and 1960s, the Korean and Vietnam Wars occurred which changed the attitude of the United States towards Taiwan, encouraging them to send military protection to Taiwan in the face of potential invasion from mainland China; clearly, the Party considered it essential to implant nationalist ideology among the Taiwanese people to lessen the likelihood of resistance, to ensure internal security, and to articulate clearly their political position as being the Republic of China's true heirs. In this sense, therefore, the dissemination of the 'we are all Chinese' message can be regarded largely as a response to substantial international pressures. Before exploring

in more detail how the Nationalist government, international politics, and media industries interacted to determine the content of patriotic popular song, I shall first outline the origins of the song form and briefly introduce the diverse ethnic/linguistic groups that were targeted for assimilation.

2.1 Patriotic popular song

Music has always been understood as a powerful tool of education and communication throughout Chinese history. Following this line of thought, Chiang Kai-shek wrote extensively about music's capacity to invoke emotions, educate, provide structure and rhythm in daily life, and promote collective participation and identity. Among his best-known proclamations regarding music are the following two examples: "Music can encourage either the prosperity or extinction of a race or nation... So we must cultivate a positive vision of our ethnicity, encourage a fighting spirit, and impose these qualities into our music and songs" and "Music is the most important thing to the army. Through march music, the army can be unified during peace time and soothed during war time" (cited in Tsai 1980: 2-3).

Between the 1930s and the 1980s, more than 300 songs with patriotic content were regularly sung in the army, in schools, and by the populace in general. But the initial appearance of pro-Chinese patriotic songs can be traced back to before the Second World War, when the songs constituted a form of resistance against Japanese colonial intrusion. In the early 1930s, Huang Zih, who was Dean of Shanghai Music College, and Professor Wei Han-jhang, who taught Chinese literature in Shanghai Music College, wrote a number of passionate songs in response to the first conflict between China and Japan, which occurred in Northeast China on September 18, 1931. Liou isolates these songs as the first ever patriotic Chinese propaganda songs (Liou

1988: 37-38). As Jhao Cin explains, the repertoire of patriotic songs grew further leading up to 1945, as the possibility of invasion by Japan grew (Chen ed. 1997: 359-360). Most of the songs were created by composers who had graduated from the political warfare cadre school, with many providing favourable descriptions of army life and expressing anti-Japan sentiments. Siao, one of my interviewees, told me that most patriotic songs were produced on Chiang Kai-shek's own command, including for example 'Fangong Fuguoge' (about resisting Chinese communists and recovering mainland China), which was written by Siao Er-hua. He explained that certain songs came to be illegal in Taiwan because the title, lyrics, and composers had negative associations from the perspective of the Chinese Nationalist Party. For instance, the film soundtrack 'Yiyongjyun Jinsingcyu (March of the Volunteers)', which encouraged Chinese soldiers to resist the Japanese military, was extremely popular in the whole of mainland China during the Second World War but was subsequently banned in Taiwan because it had been warmly received by the Communist Party, even becoming the anthem of the People's Republic of China following the Nationalist government's relocation to Taiwan. As another example, cited by Siao, 'Wodejia Zai Shande Nayibian (My Home is on the Other Side of the Mountain)' was prohibited because its original title had been 'Liouwang Sanbucyu (Fleeing in Three Stages)'¹ – which could be derogatorily likened to the Nationalist party's own escape from China.

As opposed to the patriotic songs sung within the army, the patriotic songs performed by male or female pop stars with a backing ensemble were highly popular among the masses, regardless of the listeners' ethnic/ linguistic group. Themes such as the following were ever-present: 'we are Chinese', 'the Chinese are in every

¹ This song was made up of three parts: 'Songhuajiang Shang (Songhua River)', 'Lijia (Leaving Home)', 'Shangciansian (Go to the Battlefront)'.

corner of the world', 'I love my country', 'the Republic of China will be strong', 'we will recover mainland China', 'we are proud to be Chinese', 'we must save the people in China', and so on. Even when titles suggested other themes, most commonly love, patriotic themes frequently emerged, emphasising unity and solidarity with (non-Communist) mainland Chinese; for example, 'Taohua Wu Chunfong (A Peach Blossom Blooms in Spring)', sung by Deng Li-jyun in 1979, tells of a girl who happily bids farewell to her lover who turns out to be enlisting in the army. From the 1950s to 1990s, such themes were also expounded in the soundtrack songs of patriotic films, financed and promoted by the Ministry of National Defence in support of the Chinese Nationalist Party. Many of these film songs became hits, such as 'Meihua (Chinese Plum Blossom)' in 1975, sometimes launching high-profile singing careers such as that of Fei Yu-ting (FTV, History of Taiwan accessed in August 2010). These art forms were able to communicate with and influence all of the ethnic/ linguistic groups in Taiwan, which it is now necessary to introduce in more detail.

2.2 Taiwanese people and Taiwanese identity

Taiwan is a multi-cultural society comprised of Hakka and Minnan peoples, more than ten aboriginal peoples (each with a distinct culture, language, way of life, and religion), and some other smaller groups including other Han ethnicities and foreigners. Although the Hakka and Minnan groups both hailed from Southeast China and, therefore, belong to Han ethnicity, they are differentiated by the areas in which they live, the languages that they use, and a variety of other cultural

differences.² They only became unified as ‘Taiwanese’ under Japanese colonial rule (Jao & McKeever 2006: 131-152). Taiwan’s return to the Republic of China in 1945 led to a large influx of Chinese immigrants and further diversification. From Table 2.1 we can see that, in 1935, the majority of the population was Minnan (75.58%), with Hakka accounting for 14.11%, Chinese 5.19%, aborigines 3.99%, and others including other Han ethnicities and foreigners 1.13%. As Table 2.2 shows, by 1966, the Chinese immigrants had overtaken the Hakka as the largest minority group, while the aboriginal and other foreigner groups had diminished in size.

Table 2.1: The population of ethnic/ linguistic groups in 1935 (from Wang & Jhai 2003: 232).

| Ethnicity | population | % |
|------------|------------|-------|
| Minnan | 3,939,966 | 75.58 |
| Hakka | 735,334 | 14.11 |
| Chinese | 270,674 | 5.19 |
| Aborigines | 207,900 | 3.99 |
| Others | 58,552 | 1.13 |

Table 2.2: The population of ethnic/ linguistic groups in 1966 (from Wang & Jhai 2003: 232).

| Ethnicity | population | % |
|------------|------------|-------|
| Minnan | 9,497,271 | 71.15 |
| Chinese | 1,949,786 | 14.61 |
| Hakka | 1,614,132 | 12.09 |
| Aborigines | 253,846 | 1.90 |
| Others | 7,798 | 0.06 |

Notions of Taiwanese identity had also been profoundly influenced by Japanese policy during the 50-year Japanese colonial period. In conjunction with the on-going drive to modernise and industrialise Taiwan, in 1936, the 17th general governor of

² When Taiwan, from the late seventeenth century to the end of nineteenth century, was under the rule of the Qing dynasty the Hakka and Minnan groups left the homeland primarily for economic reasons, having little intention of returning to their motherland. They had no desire to create a new country but instead fused themselves into local society among existing ethnic groups. This is one of the six types of colonial development outlined by Jürgen Osterhammel (Osterhammel 2002: 4-10).

Japan, Kobayashi Seizō, announced a policy to Japanese the Taiwanese people – a policy that was intimately allied to the Japanese move to a war footing. In 1940, the ‘Public Service Association of the Imperial Subjects’ was established to meet this end, monitoring and regulating the Taiwanese people’s everyday life in detail, enforcing use of Japanese language, names, religion, clothes and customs (Chu & Lin 2001: 102-129).³ Hence, the Taiwanese people came to possess complex multi-faceted identities, being simultaneously Taiwanese, Han ethnicity, and Japanese (Wang, J. & Jhai, H. 2003: 228-229). The notion of having a single ‘national identity’ was possibly rather alien to the Taiwanese people at that point in history.

It is apparent that when the Chinese Nationalist Party took over Taiwan in 1945, perceiving the ubiquitous effects of 50 years of Japanisation, it initially regarded the Taiwanese people as Japanese collaborators (Jao & McKeever 2006: 131-152) – even though most Taiwanese regarded this transition as a form of emancipation from Japanese rule. For the Taiwanese to be governable, the Party considered that an extensive programme of de-Japanisation and re-Sinicisation was required. The Chinese Nationalist Party publicly proposed that the Taiwanese people had been enslaved by the Japanese colonists and had become accustomed to servility (Syue, Li, Dai and Pan 2004: 75-76). In the name of ‘emancipation’, they duly introduced a number of stringent measures and regulations aimed at de-Japanisation: from 1945 to the 1950s, Japanese personal names were replaced with Chinese ones and Japanese language and ideology was prohibited in speech, media and high schools (Syue 2010: 24-37). At the same time, there was an emphatic re-enforcement of historical and contemporary links to the Chinese mainland in all aspects of public

³ Japan’s colonisation of Taiwan typifies another of Jürgen Osterhammel’s six types of colonial development – that motivated by conquest and “empire building” for economic benefit. In this case, large scale immigration is not required; a powerful minority government sets policies primarily according to its own interests (Osterhammel 2002: 16-17).

life and expression (Dai 2002: 304-308). As Keith Negus points out, cultural identity is malleable and not merely perpetuated through passive cultural transmission; to a certain extent, it is actively created during the process of cultural communication, with distinctive features of expression being emphasised as identity markers peculiar to the group in question (see Negus 1996: 109-110). It is true that a sense of identity can be created or manipulated by the authorities, on either the national or local level. Concerning Korean popular music, after the Second World War, the Korean government censored pop music in order to promote national identity, encouraging pop songs that projected themes of health and happiness (see Maliangkay 2006: 48-61). In Indonesia, meanwhile, the incorporation of both Indonesian and Western musical elements into popular music was strongly encouraged for the purpose of shaping national identity. The objective of cultural 'fusion' was explicitly promoted by the President himself, Soekarno, in 1959 (Barendregt and Zanten 2002:73). In the case of Taiwan, the Chinese Nationalist Party actively promoted the 'we are all Chinese' identity among the Taiwanese through two principle means: ensuring exclusive use of the Chinese language through the 'speaking Chinese' movement (discussed in Chapter One) and disseminating Chinese themes, styles, and symbols within education and the media. As language is a strong instrument for shaping identity, for example, when the Soviet Union tried to maintain national ideology in Armenia, it was obligatory for the Russian language to be learned at secondary schools in 1938 (Nercessian 2001: 30-31).

Opposition to Chinese authority was suppressed forcibly, and even partially eliminated, most influentially and brutally in the '228' incident ('228' being an abbreviated form of 'February 28th'). On the evening of February 27, 1947, government officials beat up a widow who had been accused of smuggling cigarettes

in Taipei by the Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL), run by Chinese immigrants. Citizens of Taipei protested started on February 28, asking TTL for justice and requesting political reformation, but Chiang Kai-shek responded by summoning troops from mainland China to suppress the protest. Many were arrested and thousands were killed⁴, primarily teachers, students, lawyers, and others who might threaten the Party's authority. Martial law was subsequently enacted on May 19, 1949 – the longest-lasting instance of martial law in modern history (Dai 2002: 308-319). From the 1950s to 1980s, diverse policies were enacted to enhance Taiwan's internal security, economic growth, and international position, ostensibly with the aim of recovering mainland China (at least until the late 1960s) (Chu & Lin 2001: 102-129). Indeed, one is unlikely to escape this cultural assimilation and acculturation, especially when the assimilation and acculturation is enforced by the government for its ends. Culture is a field to mold and socialise every individual in it, as Leppert and Lipsitz suggest that “the core insight of contemporary cultural studies has been the understanding that people are more frequently contained within cultural narratives than within jail cells” (Leppert & Lipsitz 2000: 308). During this period, the question arises: how did the Chinese Nationalist government continue to promote Chinese identity among the Taiwanese people?

2.3 Patriotic popular song and Chinese identity

From the very outset, the mass media were under the control of the Chinese Nationalist government. In 1951, under the authority of Chiang Ching-kuo, three committees were established to police the domains of music, art, and film for Communist sentiments and spread anti-Communist propaganda (Li 1997: 105); and

⁴ The number of victims varies from 2,000 to more than 100,000 in different studies.

at the level of province and county, the government would reward or praise governmental divisions which advanced diffusion of this ideology or essential spirit of patriotism (*United Daily News* Nov. 11, 1976). From the beginning of the 1950s to 1960s, for example, a number of anti-Communists stories were performed using the traditional art form *budaisi*. The Chinese Nationalist Party paid for these kinds of performances to tour the whole of the island (*budaisi* on-line library website accessed in May 2011). Shortly afterwards, in 1953, Chiang Kai-shek stressed the importance of monitoring the mass-media in ‘MinshengJhuyu Yule Liangpian Bushu’ (Theory of People’s Needs in Everyday Life): “In the revolutionary course of building our country, the mass media has to be regulated by the nation and the content of films and TV programmes has to be monitored particularly closely”. Following a speech by Chiang Kai-shek isolating three hazard elements: red poison (*hong du*, Communism), yellow danger (*huang weisien*, pornography), and black sin (*hei jhuei*, rumors) – in 1954, the ‘Jhongguo Wunyi Siehuei (Chinese Art Association)’ launched a ‘cultural sanitation campaign’ to which all leading newspapers, artists and film organisations expressed their support (Liou 1997: 37).

In 1955, Chiang Kai-shek articulated the theory of ‘Jhandou (art as weapon)’, specifically stressing the use of music, art, and film in the fight against the Chinese Communist Party (Li 1997: 105). Also in the 1950s, the Party coined the slogan ‘ShaZhu BaMao, Siaomie Gongfei, Cyuchu Ekou (Kill Zhu and Eliminate Mao, Eradicate Communism, Expel the Soviet Union)’, Communist China having become closely allied with the Soviet Union since the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance in 1945 (Cheng, Lin, and Lin 2008: 403). This slogan was ubiquitous in Taiwan, informing cultural expression in all areas of life; the slogan ‘Fangong Bisheng, Jianguo Bicheng (Defeat the Communists to Succeed, Reestablish the

Republic of China to Fulfill)’ was even printed on a wedding invitation (FTV, Taiwan History, accessed in Dec. 2009; see also *China Times* July 25, 2010), and another similar slogan ‘Dahuei Dalu, Jeijiou Tongbao (Defeat the Communists, Rescue Compatriots)’ also appeared on the back of train ticket (*Yahoo News* website accessed in April 2011). Tsai, a manager of an insurance company, said to me that he took a writing composition contest when he was at primary school in the 1970s. The title of the composition was ‘Ruhe Baomi Fangdie (How to Keep Secrets and Prevent Communists)’ – a title almost identical to that of a speech competition that I personally took part in at high school in 1984. The slogan ‘Baomi Fangdie’ has pervasively penetrated into many aspects of everyday life in Taiwanese society. For example, it can even be seen written on the side of a rickshaw in 1968 (see Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1: A photo showing the slogan ‘Renren Baomi (Everyone Keeps Secrets)’, written in white on the side of a rickshaw (Chang 2009: 55)

People born in the 1950s and 1960s share many collective memories relating to these exercises, many also associating them with first-hand encounters with Communism such as following, also recollected by Tsai:

Q: Do you remember anything more about Communism from back then?

A: There were a lot of airdrops in the fields, especially in the winter time. You could see them almost everywhere.

Q: Why in the winter time?

A: I think it is because the wind blows from the Northwest during the winter.

Q: Do you remember what the airdrops talked about?

A: Yes. The leaflets described how wonderful it was to live in mainland China, including a picture of Mao Ze-dong or someone who had returned to China from Taiwan.

Q: But how do you know the airdrops were from mainland China not from within Taiwan itself?

A: I think they must have come from China because the ink of the print smelled different.

Q: Did you pick up the airdrops and hand them in to your teacher?

A: Yes, of course.

Q: Why? Was there a reward?

A: No. There were two reasons: the teacher told us to do so and I think I was afraid that I might be imprisoned if I did not do it.

The anti-Communist pro-Nationalist watchwords were also expressed in songs such as ‘Fangong Fuguoge (Defeat the Communists and Recover Mainland China)’. This particular song was included in a songbook of Taiwanese-language popular songs self-published by Jheng Rih-cing and Hong Yi-fong in 1958; it thereafter also appeared in primary school textbooks from the 1960s to the 1980s (see Score 2.1). I asked Jheng why he included this patriotic Chinese-language song and he replied: “No reason. I just thought it would be good to have it in the songbook.” It is reasonable to assume, however, that he would have felt a natural obligation to include some of this type of material, perhaps partly to appease the censors and partly because so many others did so, the dogma having been so widely disseminated, internalised, and coercively enforced.

Score 2.1: ‘Fangong Fuguoge (Defeat the Communists and Recover Mainland China)’ in a Taiwanese-language popular songbook of 1958 (left, self-published by Jheng Rih-cing) and in a primary school music textbook from 1980 (right, published by National Institute for Compilation and Translation).



The song lyrics were actually created by Chiang Kai-shek himself, employing a traditional Chinese model in which pairs of lines are symmetrically structured, sharing the same number of words and being linked in theme and content (see Example 2.1). In the lyrics, ‘the leader’ is Chiang Kai-shek himself, the figurehead of the Republic of China, and ‘Three Principles’ refers to Sun Yat-sen’s theory and guidelines for the government to rule the country.

Example 2.1: Fangong Fuguoge (Defeat the Communists and Recover Mainland China)

Line1: 打倒俄寇反共產, 反共產 (bar 1-3)

Line2: 消滅朱毛⁵殺漢奸, 殺漢奸 (bar 4-6)

Defeat the bandits of the Soviet Union and resist the Chinese communists, resist the Chinese communists

Eliminate Zhu and Mao and kill the traitors, kill the traitors

Line3: 收復大陸解救同胞 (bar 7-8)

Line4: 服從領袖完成革命 (bar 9-10)

⁵ In the primary school textbook version of 1980, the word ‘eliminate’ is used instead of ‘kill’.

Recover mainland China to save our compatriots
Obey the leader to fulfill the revolution

Line5: 三民主義實行 (bar 11-12)

Line6: 中華民國復興 (bar 13-14)

Execute the Three Principles of the People

Revive the Republic of China

Line7: 中華復興 (bar 15), 民國萬歲 (bar 16)

Line8: 中華民國萬萬歲 (bar 17-18)

Revive Chinese culture, the Republic of China will be forever

The Republic of China will be forever and ever

The song's melody is easily memorable and serves to clearly demarcate the lyric structure shown above. So, for example, line 4 closes with a strong cadence finishing on the tonic (in bar 10), thereby marking the end of the first verse; subsequently, in bar 11, a shift of tonality from G major to E minor marks the beginning of the second verse and a change of mood. The piece returns to G major in bar 15 for the final triumphant conclusive statement: "The Republic of China will be forever and ever". Throughout, the delivery of one note per syllable lends the song a strident militaristic character and further contributes to ease of execution. Everybody from primary school age upwards could easily sing this song and others like it – and, indeed, they were expected to do so; this was a powerful means for implanting patriotic ideology regarding mainland China, the Nationalist Party and Chiang Kai-shek, shaping and unifying Taiwanese identity with little self-reflexive thought on the part of the Taiwanese people themselves.

Throughout Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek was ubiquitous as the figurehead of the Party; almost every school had a statue of him before which the students would assemble and conduct patriotic ritual (see Figure 2.2). Even in remote areas, where the transportation and infrastructure was less developed, Chiang Kai-shek was

conspicuously represented, indicating the effectiveness of the Party's propaganda machine. So, for example, Tsai remembers being taken by his father to see Chiang Kai-shek's photos in 1975 when the leader died; at the time, Tsai was living in a remote coastal village in Western Taiwan and the photo was prominently displayed in a temple in the neighbouring village. They felt sad that their great leader had passed away. As Gramsci suggests (see Mouffe 1979: 181-195), it is easier to achieve unified loyalty to a Party, Nation, and dogma when a single authoritarian figure is presented within propaganda as an embodiment of principals and a focus of devotion. Hence, Chiang Kai-shek became established as the one legitimate Chinese leader in the minds of the Taiwanese people – almost a personification of the Republic of China. It was for him, as much as for the country itself, that the people should fight to bring about the revolution and overthrow the Communists. With their own identities as 'Chinese' deeply internalised, there was no need for them to doubt or question their devotion to Chiang and the Party.



Figure 2.2: A ceremony to mark the erection of a Chiang Kai-shek statue at a primary school in Chiayi in 1956 (Chiayi City Cultural Affairs 2001b: 67).

In recognition of the communicative and persuasive power of song, in 1969, the Department of Education set up courses to teach singers how to perform patriotic songs. The Department's chairman ceremonially launched these courses and invited the chairman of the Department of Cultural Affairs to deliver a brief speech; evidently, the courses were regarded as highly important by the government (*United Daily News* July 28, 1969). Shortly afterwards, in 1971, the government held a conference to discuss how to improve the content of TV programmes. It was concluded that, in addition to content 'purification' and augmented transmission of anti-Communist messages, it was necessary to make more broadcasts of patriotic popular songs, more of which needed to be composed (*United Daily News* Sept. 9, 1971).

In the 1950s, the film industry was hindered by a paucity of apparatus and personnel; few film-makers came to Taiwan with the Chinese Nationalist Party and films produced on the mainland by those left behind were prohibited. It was some time before nationalist films could be produced in Taiwan, one of the first being 'Poppy Flower' in 1955, produced by the newly-formed national film company. By the 1970s, however, a thriving industry of Chinese language films was well-established. When the People's Republic of China (PRC) displaced the Republic of China (ROC) from its UN seat in 1972 and the Japanese and PRC signed a treaty in the same year, the industry responded to the growing sense of insecurity by releasing a wave of patriotic anti-Communist and anti-Japanese films. Both 'Yinglie Cianciou (The Heroes of War)' (1973) and 'Meihua (Chinese Plum Blossom)' (1975) referred back to China-Japan conflict during the Second World War in order to stimulate the patriotism of the masses (Huang 2005: 15-16, 18). One of contributions of these patriotic films is the films produced a large number of patriotic popular songs.

During this period of insecurity, radio also assisted in the promotion of patriotism; most notably, the BCC station broadcast a 10-minute radio programme called 'Zihciang Sinsheng' (What you think of being strong) to the whole island at 8:20pm on Fridays in both the Chinese and Taiwanese languages (*United Daily News* August 19, 1971). President Chiang Ching-kuo had earlier spoken on air of the need for courage in the face of obstacles and difficult conditions and this radio station built upon this theme.

In the 1970s, TV was the most influential medium for conveying Chinese identity, anti-Communist and anti-Japanese propaganda, traditional values regarding inter-personal relationships, and a strong work ethic. Accordingly, the war between China and Japan provided the context for soap operas on all three TV stations, for example 'Dadi Ernyu' on TTV, 'Yinanwang' on CTV, and 'Chunfong Dadi' on CTS. These three soap operas depicted the life of ideal students – patriotic youngsters who kept their integrity in the face of obstacles (TV Guide 1978 (133): 40). The soap opera 'Fongyu Shengsinsin (Storms Make Me Brave)' was produced as a collaborative project by all three TV stations in 1977 and was first broadcast on September 12; sung by Siao Li-jhu and bearing the same name as the soap opera itself, the soundtrack (see Example 2.2) was highly circulated throughout Taiwan (*China Times* on-line accessed in May 2011). Other programmes presented ostensibly non-fictitious events that illustrated the virtues of the Nationalists and evils of the opposition forces. One such programme that was particularly influential was 'Siaoli Zangdao', which was broadcast on CTS from Mondays to Saturdays at 12:20 to 12:30. It told stories of the Nationalist people's escape to Taiwan and the atrocities that people were facing on the mainland; the government gave it an award in June

1979 because it was spreading the right messages so effectively (TV Guide 1979 (183): 128-129).

Example 2.2: Fongyu Shengsinsin (Storms Make Me Brave)

| | |
|------------|--|
| 不怕風和雨 | We are not afraid of storms, |
| 不怕浪如山 | We are not afraid of strong waves. |
| 同舟共濟 衝破黑暗 | We will work together through the darkness, sharing the same boat. |
| 信心要堅強 | We have to have confidence in ourselves. |
| 你把舵 我搖槳 | You pull the rudder, I'll pull the oars, |
| 萬眾一心有力量 | We have strength in solidarity |
| 乘風破浪 | to go through the storms. |
| 看雨過天晴 光明在望 | Look, there will be sunshine after the rain. |
| ... | |
| 反共復國其歌唱 | We'll celebrate when we defeat the communists and recover our country: |
| 勝利在望 | Victory is coming. |
| 看春回大陸 | Look, spring will return to mainland China |
| 還我河山 | And we will get our land back. |

In 1979, the three TV stations collaborated in the production of a single soap opera 'Jinsiou Ciancheng', the purpose of which was to show how a perfect Taiwanese society – stable, developed, contented, and economically strong – could be established if people simply followed Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People. The soap opera was comprised of eight parts, each addressing a different faction of society (intellectuals, farmers, manual workers, businessmen, fishermen, publishers, social workers) and showing how the principles of loyalty and patriotism infiltrated all aspects of their lives. In this society, intellectuals followed the government's ideas, a business competed against Chinese communist enterprise and won, farmers worked together with the government to boost their yield and rose the standard of living, and students expressed loyalty and patriotism in all their activities (TV Guide 1979 174:

24-25). Through films and TV dramas and programmes such as these, values and codes of behaviour were being instilled within the audience in a muted way; as Walker explains, in complex industrialised societies, people are particularly unlikely to recognise that their consciousnesses have been dominated (see Walker 1983: 20). Symbols of Chinese identity were conspicuously displayed on a great many marketed items, instilling ideology throughout the populace; for example, the sun emblem from the national flag – and also the emblem of the Chinese Nationalist Party – can be seen prominently emblazoned on the front of a toy car (see Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3: A photograph of children playing with a toy car in 1962 in Tainan in the South of Taiwan. Note the star emblem on the bonnet (from National History Museum 2005: 54)

Patriotic popular songs were widely sung and recognised by the general populace from the 1950s to 1980s, similarly to promote loyalty to the Chinese Nationalist Party and strengthen Chinese identity. Ideas were articulated either through allusion or explicitly. More allusive lyrics employed a range of symbols to signify Chinese identity, including the Chinese plum blossom (the national flower of the Republic of China), the Changjiang River, Whampoa (where Whampoa Military Academy was established), and *Begonia grandis* (the leaf of which has a shape resembling

mainland China). To encourage the people to strive against Chinese communism they used signifiers such as blood, hell, and storms. ‘Storms’ are mentioned particularly frequently in the songs (as Example 2.2 shows). Taiwan is located on a tropical line and is annually damaged by typhoons so the Taiwanese are well aware of the need to prepare for adversity. In the songs, ‘storms’ signified political threat from the Chinese Communists and the economic challenges faced in Taiwan; as with a real storm, the Taiwanese people should prepare for further adversity.

‘Meihua (Chinese Plum Blossom)’ (CD track 3) was one of the most well-known songs that used symbolic allusion (see Example 2.3). It was sung at the end of almost every TV programme and event held on a National holiday (TV Guide 1978 (133): 78-79).

Example 2.3: Meihua (Chinese Plum Blossom)

| | |
|----------|---|
| 梅花梅花滿天下 | Chinese plum, Chinese plum blossoms everywhere, |
| 愈冷它愈開花 | The colder it is, the more it blooms. |
| 梅花堅忍象徵我們 | The Chinese plum symbolizes the hardness of the Chinese |
| 巍巍的大中華 | And all the greatness of China |
| 看那遍地開了梅花 | Look, Chinese plum blossoms everywhere, |
| 有土地就有它 | Wherever there is land, there is Chinese plum. |
| 冰雪風雨它都不怕 | No matter how bad the weather is, it is not scared: |
| 它是我的國花 | It is our national flower. |

The song ‘Meihua’ was the theme song for a film of the same name, which was produced in 1975 and showcased in cinemas during the Chinese New Year. The film and the song focus on the darker side of life – in particular the trials of war – and it was very unusual to show such content around this crucial public holiday. Nevertheless, the film was extremely popular. The motivation for presenting the film

was the international political condition of the time in which the Republic of China led by Chiang Kai-shek lost its seat in the UN and broke off diplomatic relations with Japan. The Chinese Nationalist Party wished to communicate a sense of danger and a need to group together through the film medium. In the film, the lead actress, Hu Yin-meng, played the role of a teacher. In one famous scene, she explains to her pupils: “‘Chinese plum, Chinese plum blossoms everywhere, the colder it is, the more it blooms.’ We have to remember which nation we belong to. What kind of flower can represent our ethnic spirituality best? It is the Chinese plum”. Chiang Ching-kuo, who was the son of Chiang Kai-shek and leader of the Executive Yuan (the body of Administration), expressed admiration for the symbolism of Chinese plum blossom, claiming that it perfectly captured the soul of the Chinese people (FTV, History of Taiwan accessed in Jan. 2010). The ‘Meihua’ song likens the Chinese people to the plum blossom on account of the following shared properties: being widespread throughout the world, able to survive in environments quite different from those of the homeland, and being hardy and able to thrive in adverse climates (even blooming in the winter, unlike most flowers). This song is very short, consisting of just two four-line verses with much repetition of the word ‘Meihua’. Listeners of any background can easily memorise the lyrics and apprehend the likeness between the plum blossom and the Chinese. Although he was not explicitly addressing the lyrics of songs used for propaganda, Richard Middleton stresses that repetition in popular music helps the listener to follow the melody and harmony and serves as a bridge to enable personal emotional absorption in the experience (see Middleton 1999: 141-155). Repetition is obviously an aid to the conveyance of propaganda.

Although Allan Moore argues that popular music listeners can derive different experiences and meanings from music according to the type of ‘listening strategy’ that they choose to adopt (Moore 1993: 23-27), it seems unlikely that the Taiwanese people were able to choose a particular strategy when faced with patriotic popular songs – being subjected to the material throughout their daily lives – and the songs themselves were purposefully designed to be simple and unambiguous in terms of musical and lyrical content, thereby negating the possibility of multiple different readings. As the linguist Saussure explained, human beings look at, understand and represent/construct the world through the medium of language (cited Shepherd 1999: 156-177). In this way, the discourse of danger that was imbedded in the songs formulated the image of the world in listeners’ minds.

The idea that the Chinese people will one day awaken from slumber to become strong and united appears frequently in patriotic popular song, for example in ‘Changjiang Water’, which features the line: “Changjiang, you must flow wildly to wake up the sleeping children”. Here, the message is that the mainland Chinese have to ‘wake up’ to the understanding that they are under the yoke of tyranny of the Chinese Communists. The song ‘Haitang Sielei (Begonia Grandis is Bleeding and in Tears)’ similarly stresses that the Chinese people must “wake up and admit their mistake”, acknowledging that they have been “taking a lie as truth and living in hell as heaven”; only then can they unite “to recover the capital, and our country will be strong”. This song likens the redness of the begonia to the blood of suffering, while exploiting the begonia leaf’s resemblance to China.

More explicit and direct expressions of Chinese identity can be found in such songs as ‘Jhonghuaminguo Song (Ode to the Republic of China)’ (from 1980) (see Example 2.4) (CD track 4), ‘Dajhonghua (How Great China is)’, and ‘Woshih

Jhongguoren (I am Chinese)’. These songs similarly stress that China is the motherland, one should be proud to be Chinese, the Chinese culture of the motherland is superior, the Chinese people are virtuous and intelligent, and China has the most beautiful landscapes.

Example 2.4: Jhonghuaminguo Song (Ode to the Republic of China)

| | |
|------------|---|
| 青海的草原 | The grassland of Qinghai: |
| 一眼看不完 | One cannot see to the end. |
| 喜馬拉雅山 | The Himalayas: |
| 峯峯相連到天邊 | Endless mountains. |
| 古聖和先賢 | Saints and the founding philosophers |
| 在這裡建家園 | Built their homes here. |
| 風吹雨打中 | Although there were storms |
| 聳立五千年 | The homes still stood. |
| 中華民國 中華民國 | The Republic of China, the Republic of China: |
| 經得起考驗 | It can withstand any kind of opposition, |
| 只要黃河長江的水不斷 | As long as the Yellow River and Changjiang River flow. |
| 中華民國 中華民國 | The Republic of China, the Republic of China: |
| 千秋萬世 直到永遠 | It will stand for hundreds of thousands of years forevermore. |

The first verse engages the listeners’ interests through depicting famous places that they would have heard about in school: Qinghai, located in the Northeast of Qingjiang plateau, where the iconic Yellow and the Changjiang Rivers both have their sources and where Chinese culture is believed to have originated approximately 5000 years ago; and the Himalayas, the highest chain of mountains in the world. This verse links the listener to grand locations that form a striking contrast with the small island of Taiwan, promoting feelings of wonder and envy and an eagerness to belong to that rich heritage. The second verse expands upon this, speaking of the great

founders who lived in China and from whom the listeners may regard themselves as cultural heirs. As in other patriotic popular songs, the third verse optimistically proclaims that China will endure forever, providing further encouragement to engage with China and Chinese culture.

Similar ideas appear in the song ‘Dajhonghua’, which begins by depicting a shepherd boy grazing cows, sheep and horses by the riverside on a vast prairie in mainland China. The animals are strong and in very good condition and the shepherd’s family lives there happily. As in ‘Jhonghuaminguo Song’, the message is that mainland China is a good place to live in. Verse two of ‘Dajhonghua’ moves on to explain: “You and I live there, homes and houses like a chain, linked together and building up China”. Again, the lyrics conclude with a proclamation of devotion and endurance: “I grew up there and, even though it has been through some storms, I belong to it; I will protest and fight for it until I die”. These essential ideas are similarly articulated in ‘Woshih Jhongguoren’: “I am Chinese wherever I was born and my soul will be Chinese wherever I die”.

Brief analysis of the lyrical content of patriotic popular songs reveals that in both types – those employing allusion and those adopting more explicit expression – three messages tend to be projected. Firstly, it is demonstrated that ‘China is great’ in terms of size, geographic diversity, historical longevity, and intellectual accomplishment; one should be proud to be a part of it. Secondly, it is shown that China has been taken over by corrupt power, the Chinese people are consequently suffering, and people should fight for salvation. When Chiang Kai-shek lost the war against the Chinese Communist Party and fled to Taiwan in the 1940s, he was determined to regroup and successfully overcome the opposition in the future. However, during the 1940s and 1950s, Taiwan’s economic condition suffered from

hyperinflation, sudden population increase owing to the Chinese immigrants, and political threats from both inside and outside; the songs served to blame the Communists for suffering both on the mainland and in Taiwan and to encourage proactive involvement in development. The third message that was commonly projected in the songs was that the Taiwanese people should look forward to a good future. Taiwan had been ruled by several regimes in succession and the Taiwanese people had been discriminated against, giving rise to lingering uncertainty, insecurity, and inequality in every aspect of life; the prospect of attaining lasting security and prosperity through unity with the eternal China must have seemed highly attractive. However, as a prerequisite, the people would have to unite and defeat the Chinese Communists; the great efficiency that nationalism presents is to evoke the citizens' loyalty and direct it against their enemies in order to protect the nation (Barbour & Carmichael 2002: 2).

Significantly, most of the songwriters that created patriotic popular songs were Chinese immigrants who had fled to the island in the 1940s or young generation offspring of Chinese immigrants, born in Taiwan but retaining strong links with the mainland. Obviously, individuals from the same group or from similar backgrounds share collective values and identities, so songwriters and listeners are likely to communicate with and comprehend each other well. This is certainly the case with the songwriters who created patriotic popular songs; their personal backgrounds naturally made them particularly sensitive to the nationalist causes upheld by the authorities and the plights of the displaced Chinese. For example, Liou Jia-chang was born in 1941 in China but moved to Korea at the age of seven because of the war and he went to Taiwan in 1962, eventually becoming one of the most famous songwriters of the 1970s and 1980s. He wrote a large number of Chinese-

language popular songs and patriotic popular songs which were about Chinese identity including ‘I am Chinese’, ‘My Country’, and ‘Ode to the Republic of China’. When he received an Honorary Award in Beijing in 2007, he announced “I am proud to be Chinese”. The actor Jhang Di recalls how Liou Jia-chang came to write the song ‘My Country’ (see Example 2.5) for him to sing; when they were having a cup of coffee together at the Don-i hotel, Liou told him: “You are so ugly and you sing so badly that it is a kind of torture for me to write a song for you. But you are very patriotic and I am with you on this point. So OK, why don’t we have a song called ‘My Country’” (FTV, History of Taiwan accessed in Jan. 2010).

Example 2.5: Kuoja (My Country)

...

| | |
|--------------|---|
| 炎黃子孫用血和汗 | By their blood and soul, |
| 把民族的根紮下 | Chinese people are deeply rooted in this land. |
| 多少烈士獻出生命 | How many heroes have devoted their lives |
| 培育出自由的花 | to cultivate the flower of freedom? |
| 國家 國家 我愛的大中華 | My country, my country, great China I love. |
| 四海之內的中國人 | Chinese people all over the world will be |
| 永遠在青天白日下 | Under the bright sky and sunshine ⁶ forever. |

The lyrics of ‘My Country’ were written by Sun Yi, who was born in 1929 in China and came to work for radio and TV in Taiwan. Sun had already collaborated with Liou Jia-chang in the creation of several patriotic popular songs including ‘Whampoa Jyunhun (the Soul of Whampoa Military)’ (Liou 1985: 101). Another Chinese immigrant who came to write nationalist songs in Taiwan was Luo Min-dao, who wrote the aforementioned song ‘Fongyn Shengsinsin (Storms Make me Brave)’. Lou was born in 1924 in China, where he graduated from the political warfare cadre

⁶ The bright sky and sunshine is the symbol of the national flag of the Republic of China.

school. He came to Taiwan in 1945 and after working as an instrumentalist and singing teacher, he wrote a number of patriotic popular songs. After the United States broke off diplomatic relation with the Republic of China in 1979, he produced his most well-known songs, including ‘Fongyn Shensinsin’ and ‘Chenggongling Shang’ (the name of a military camp, especially for university students to take their compulsory two-month military service) (Encyclopedia of Taiwan website accessed in June 2011). Similar proud sentiments were expressed by Deng Li-jyun, the most famous singer of Chinese-language popular song and one of the younger generation of Chinese immigrants, when she was interviewed by ICRT radio channel in 1983 about the Chinese-language pop song ‘Dushang Silou (Go Upstairs to the Tower⁷ Alone)’ (see Example 2.6, Youtube website accessed in March 2009). The lyric for this song was a poem by Li Yu (931–978):

Example 2.6: Interview of Deng Li-jyun

Anchorman: Where did the idea for the song come from?

Deng: When I was in Hong Kong, a friend came up to me. He said he had an idea to use a Tang dynasty poem and – how to say it? – put it together with a contemporary melody... The young generation would more easily accept old Chinese history and culture through contemporary popular music. That was the whole idea.

Anchorman: I have listened to some of the selection...

Deng: Because people are now forgetting old Chinese culture.⁸

This interview suggests that songwriters were motivated not solely by entertainment and fame but also a desire to educate Taiwan’s youth about Chinese culture, unobtrusively and imperceptibly.

⁷ Girls lived in their own building if their families were rich or of high social status.

⁸ This interview was in English, but I have edited some of the grammar.

It is true that musical form is a potent vehicle for invoking listeners' emotions or feelings; in part, the composer may be regarded as intertwining his or her ideas and feelings into the musical work ('expression theory') and, in part, the musical patterns remind listeners of particular events or periods in their lives ('arousal theory') (Stephen Davies 1994: 199). Through these means and others, music becomes part of our life, establishing connections between the external world and internal life. Indeed, Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalist Party recognized this unique character of music, and therefore, patriotic popular songs were strongly supported by the Party to transmit via the mass media and taught in schools.

In the interests of reaching as wide an audience as possible, patriotic popular songs employed simple structures, repeated patterns, and limited melodic range generally of a ninth, tenth, or eleventh. They also used the highly familiar pentatonic scale, which, as Peter Winkler points out, lends itself to popular song; songs employing only the pentatonic scale "contain no half-steps or dissonant intervals, they are clearly centred around a triad, and they easily accommodate variable intonation-portamentos, blue notes, speech-like inflections, or just plain bad singing" (Winkler 2003: 39). In the Taiwanese case, the use of pentatonic scale was also in part due to the prevalent influence of classical Chinese music, which tends to be based on the scale even though musical theory acknowledges the existence of 12 tones. Most traditional Taiwanese music, drama, religion, and custom derived from mainland China at this time and the songwriters themselves were mainly from China. Traditional Chinese music is generally pentatonic with portamentos, ornaments, variable untempered tunings, and auxiliary tones occasionally providing brief articulations of pitches in between the five main tones. Regarding musical structure, most patriotic popular songs consists of eight or sixteen bars with an AAA form like

‘Meihua’ (see Score 2.2), AABB’ form like ‘Jhonghuaminguo Song’, or ABAB form like ‘Dajhonghua’. These simple forms with repeated verses ensured rapid memorisation together with internalisation of the song’s lyrics.

Score 2.2: Meihua



2.4 Chinese identity: evidence of consolidation

There is ample evidence to suggest that the Chinese ideology and identity were successfully implanted within the minds of the Taiwanese people. As an example, when Japan planned to sell textile-producing machines to mainland China in 1963, the masses demonstrated their outrage at this support of the Communist regime in a variety of ways: the textile union made a consensus to boycott Japanese goods, industrial personnel demanded that the government should protest against the Japanese government’s decision, and the film union asked the Chinese Nationalist government to prohibit importation of Japanese films temporarily (*Central Daily News* Sept. 7, 1963).

Performing artists, songwriters, and TV actors and station workers also demonstrated solid support of the Chinese Nationalist government and its ideology. For example, Deng Li-jyun consistently refused to perform in mainland China in spite of her popularity there (Manuel 1988: 233); instead, she performed a number of times for Taiwanese army garrisons becoming known as ‘Yongyuagde Jyunjhongcingren’ (the timeless fancy lover to soldiers) (PolyGram ed. 1995: 6-7).

On December 16, 1978, which was the day after the news broke that the United States and mainland China had renewed diplomatic relations, the record companies set up concerts to raise funds and donations for national defence. The Haishan record company held a concert on December 17, featuring Jhang Li-min and other well-known singers, to appeal for 'solidarity, effort, and the rescue of China' and approximately 20,000 people attended. During the concert, every singer spoke out about their feelings and the event ended with all the singers and audience members joining forces to sing 'Meihua' and 'Jhongguo Yidingciang (China will be Strong)'. The Gelin record company and its singers, including Gao Ling-fong and Siao Li-jhu, went onto the street with the national flag, again singing 'Meihua' and taking money donations (see Figure 2.4). The TTV station launched a series of special programmes about the international situation, national defense and security, economics, and so forth to rally support for the government. It also presented a number of singing programmes for singers and audience members to express their feelings, perform patriotic popular songs, and collect money for the national defense fund. To boost patriotic fervour, TTV decided the proportion of selected songs in singing programmes should be increased from 1/3 to 2/3, enabling choice between various patriotic songs. CTV and CTS stations also introduced patriotic programmes at short notice with 'Love our country and Solidarity' as a unifying slogan; the songs 'Meihua' and 'Jhongguo Yidingciang' were almost invariably sung to express patriotic ideas. A particularly potent expression of united solidarity during this period was the singing programme 'PenglaiSiandao' produced by CTV station, in which the emcee Li Jing-guang interviewed Jhou Jhong-lian and Li Jhih-lin in the Chinese language and Li Jing-mei, and Lin Jhao-syong in Taiwanese to speak out about their

thoughts; the message was that everyone loved the Republic of China whatever his or her linguistic group was (Show TV Weekly 1978 (066): 11-25).



Figure 2.4: A demonstration held by singers (from TTV Weekly 1978 (066): 11).

Conclusion

From the beginning of the Chinese Nationalist Party's reign in Taiwan in 1945 until the lifting of martial law in 1987, stringent measures were undertaken to promote Chinese identity throughout the population in Taiwan, through education and the mass media – radio, TV, film, newspapers, magazines, and advertising. During these four decades, the Chinese Nationalist Party attempted to bring about this identity transformation in three stages: firstly, the removal of Japanese elements from Taiwanese culture; secondly, the elimination of factions that might resist the Chinese Nationalist Party, for example by bolstering democratic politics or demanding Taiwanese independence from China; finally, the re-implantation of Chinese cultural

expression and ideology, promoting the legitimacy of the Chinese Nationalist Party to rule Taiwan and uniting the Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants in a desire to recover mainland China. This chapter has demonstrated that patriotic popular song was a particularly potent means for instilling Chinese identity into the heart of Taiwanese society; the vast majority of people regularly heard and sang it, internalising the ruling party's values with every repetition until, eventually, their own identities became Chinese.

The methods used by the Chinese Nationalist Party to instill Chinese identity were clearly extremely successful. Of course, when martial law was abolished and Taiwan engaged more readily in the global market, the political climate in Taiwan gradually become more democratic and various political ideas were increasingly able to co-exist and compete for acceptance. However, after four decades of fostering Chinese identity and loyalty to the Chinese Nationalist Party, there is one area that has become particularly divisive: specifically, the issue of whether Taiwan should continue to strive for 'one China' unification or aim to become an independent nation. According to recent surveys in June 2011, the current predicament is a 10.1:22.2 divide of opinion, but with 61.1% preferring to maintain what the situation is now, which means that a majority would prefer that Taiwan remain the Republic of China (Election Study Center, National Chenchi University website accessed in August 2011). After 2000, when the Democratic Progressive Party replaced the Chinese Nationalist Party, the tension between these factions intensified, forging a schism between the Chinese immigrants and the Taiwanese people on the island. It can be said that political tolerance is very low in Taiwanese society (Wang & Chang 2006: 377-378). From the perspective of the more conservative Nationalists, it is inconceivable that Taiwan should be ruled by anything other than the Chinese

Nationalist party: from the 1950s to 1980s, they have been educated to regard the Chinese Nationalist Party as the Republic of China. The Chinese Nationalist Party's aim of re-sinicisation continues to have a far-reaching and deep influence.

Chapter 3: ‘Taiwanese’¹ Bob Dylans’?

Social class, Americana, and Chinese cultural identity in the ‘campus song’ movement

After the Second World War, when Americanisation spread worldwide, Taiwan experienced a profound influx of American ideas and cultural expression. Following a period of instability during the 1950s and 1960s, these processes were accelerated during the late 1960s to the extent that young intellectuals in Taiwan no longer listened to popular songs in their own languages. Instead, they preferred popular songs in English, and had a particular admiration for Bob Dylan and other ‘new folk’ singers. From the early 1970s, Dylan-inspired university students started a new movement to ‘sing songs in our own language’. This marked the birth of a genre which the singers themselves came to refer to as ‘Siaoyuan Minge (lit. campus song)’. Along with patriotic popular songs for mass consumption, campus song was a form of popular song that resulted from the government’s dissemination of political ideology within educational institutions. As such, it was wholly supportive of the authority’s ideologies, in contrast with the parallel campus-based song movements of Korea, *t’ong kit’a*, and Japan, *wasei fôku*, both of which were likewise inspired by the American folksong movement and similarly relied on the guitar to provide accompaniment. In the case of *t’ong kit’a*, some singers dared to express disappointment and dissatisfaction in the ruling regime – for example, Kim Min’gi in the 1970s (see Hwang 2006: 34-47). Similarly, in *wasei fôku*, there were singers who used the medium of song to express ideas that contravened with those of the government (see Stevens 2008: 44). In this chapter, I attempt to explore how the

¹ In the context of this title, ‘Taiwanese’ refers to singers who were born and lived in Taiwan – although many felt strong ties to the Chinese mainland.

Taiwanese campus song movement borrowed certain elements from the American folksong revival, while at the same time, not embracing the associated roles of social commentary and protest, thereby setting it apart from the parallel campus song movements in Korea and Japan.

From the very beginning, ‘campus song’ was presented as a ‘high art’ equivalent to the other popular song forms in Taiwan, the songwriters who wrote the campus songs being students at colleges or universities, and the listeners likewise being educated members of the ruling classes, generally from secondary school age (15 years) upwards.

Campus song provides an example of ‘taste culture’. As Herbert Gans demonstrated, ‘taste’ serves as a social tool for differentiating between the different social groupings within a society. Each group enjoys certain types of cultural expression that identify its values, social status and identity, the individuals within the group being bound together as a social unit in part by their consumption of the same commodities (Lewis 1992: 139). But how is ‘taste culture’ constructed? Pierre Bourdieu points out that cultural production is controlled by those institutions that have economic and political power, so that the closer to the centre of power a cultural form is the less autonomy it has (1993: 37-38). Bourdieu explains:

The educational system plays a decisive role in the generalized imposition of the legitimate mode of consumption. One reason for this is that the ideology of ‘re-creation’ and ‘creative reading’ supplies teachers – lecturers assigned to commentary on the canonical texts – with a legitimate substitute for the ambition to act as actors (1993: 37).

Bourdieu demonstrates that the ranking of cultural taste across a high-low spectrum is constructed and delineated through education and the various modes of cultural knowledge. Therefore, the relative values of cultural commodities vary according to

the identity of the group in question, be it working class, female, male, young, old, or whatever, with the values being revealed whenever group members consume commodities (Frith 1998: 9-13). It is undeniable that education is a potent means for the dominant institutions to convey and shape ideological belief, particularly when social development has not reached a stable condition, in which case the authorities use education to achieve social stability forcibly (Hay 1996: 24-27).

In Taiwan, from the 1950s onwards, educational institutions played an important role in shaping intellectuals' Chinese cultural identity, with campus song quickly becoming the favoured musical expression of this identity from the 1970s to the mid-1980s. Campus song belonged solely to the elite. It is vital for us to understand how educational institutions transmitted Chinese cultural identity to these elites, why campus song was unquestioningly accepted by the students of colleges and universities, and what messages the musicians were conveying through their songs. In this chapter, I trace the development of 'campus song', exploring why these privileged student singers were involved in activities that were generally associated with lower-status people. I then go on to look at the relationship between campus songs in Taiwan and the Bob Dylan phenomenon in America, investigating similarities and differences regarding content, style, ideas, and image. I also explore how campus song functioned as an expression of the Chinese intellectuals' cultural identity, as a genre belonging exclusively to the cultural and political elite. Finally, I assess how campus song is perceived by Taiwan's broader society in relation to other popular musical forms.

3.1 The advent of campus song

In 1977, the Xinge record company launched an annual singing contest called

‘Jinyun Jiang (Golden Tune Awards)’ to encourage young intellectuals to compose and sing songs; they were responding to a widespread fashion since the early 1970s for undergraduate students to meet and sing songs using published song books and accompanying themselves on the guitar. The contest was extremely popular with the students, attracting thousands of competitors every time (see Encyclopedia of Taiwan website accessed in August 2011, see also Moskowitz 2010:34-35). It was divided into two separate sessions: singing performance and composition, and, each year, the Xinge record company published two albums of twelve songs each, showcasing the winners’ performances and creations. Why did the students find this event so appealing – and the performance of such material in general? And why did they choose to adopt the format of solo (or, more rarely, a small group of singers) with guitar?

In 1973, Hu De-fu held a concert to perform his works, with various singers being invited, including Li Shuang-ze and Yang Xing. Although this concert did not invoke a strong response from those who attended, it did constitute the first performance event outside of the campus context to be organised by the students themselves. On 6th June 1975, Yang Xing (see Figure 3.1) gave his first performance of his own songs, singing eight songs including ‘Siangchou Sihyun (Homesick)’ and ‘Mingexhou (A Folksong Singer)’, which are a setting of part of the poem ‘Baiyu Kugua (Bitter Melon)’ by Yu Guang-jhong. Shortly afterwards, he released an album ‘Jhongguo Siandai Mingeji (A Collection of Chinese Modern Folk Songs)’, published by Hong Jian-cyuan Foundation (Jhong 2007: 35-38). Yang Xing’s first concert appealed so much to the student body that BCC radio station launched a new programme called ‘Jhongsì Minge (Popular Songs in English and Chinese)’ as a forum for song composers to introduce their material to listeners. The programme

generated opportunities for many artists to become active solo performers, including for example Wu Chu-chu, from 1977. The emcee of 'Jhongsì Minge' gathered the most popular of these songs by a variety of singers and released two albums entitled 'Womende Ge (Our Songs)' in 1978, again published by Hong Jian-cyuan foundation (Ma² ed. 1995: 13, 18).



Figure 3.1: The second concert of Yang Xing in 1977(from Ma ed. 1995: 15)

'Campus songs' first materialised so that students could perform and enjoy songs in their own language – Chinese. The debate about the need to perform in Chinese was fueled by an incident featuring Li Shuang-ze (see Figure 3.2). In 1976, a 'Songs in English Language' concert was held at Tamkang University, in which the student Li Shuang-ze unexpectedly went up onto the stage to substitute Hu De-fu, who had had a fight the night before and was unable to perform. Holding a can of Coca Cola in his

² The book *The Timelessness of Campus Song* (1995), edited by Ma Shih-fang (the son of Tao Siao-cing who is known as the mother of campus song), collects together contributions from campus singers who were interviewed by the editor and his group. Each campus singer contributed 1-4 pages to the book.

hand, Li interrupted the concert to say to both the singers and the emcee Tao Siao-cing, “Whether in the United States, Europe or Taiwan, everyone drinks Coca Cola and listens to songs in English. Where are the songs in our own language? You are Chinese and yet you sing English language songs. How do you feel?” He then proceeded to sing songs in both the Chinese and Taiwanese language, respectively ‘Guofu Jiniange (Song of the Founding Father)’ and ‘Bu Powang (Fixing a Fishing Net)’, accompanying himself on guitar. Hu and everyone behind the scenes were shocked by what he had said (Chen unknown year: 30-31; see also DVD: *Salute! Sing Our Own Songs* 2008). Along with the emcee, the members of the duet ‘You & Me’ were also angry, exclaiming: “We are so unlucky to have to sing after him! No matter how hard we try, there can no longer be an exciting atmosphere in this concert” (Yang 1992: 13-15, my trans.). Li Shuang-ze was so passionate about his own culture that he often sang songs from Hengchun (a town in South Taiwan) to Hu De-fu in small gatherings of friends, and Hu De-fu would sing his aboriginal songs in return. Hu De-fu recalled that everyone was impressed after he sang his aboriginal song ‘Meilide Dasuei’ and it encourage Hu to contemplate his identity and the way in which he expressed it for many years afterwards (DVD: *Salute! Sing Our Own Songs* 2008). The incident with Li Shuang-ze at the concert in Tamkang University inspired a lot of students, and in this way the slogan ‘sing songs in our own language’ was introduced.



Figure 3.2: A picture of Li Shuang-ze (from *China Times* Dec. 7, 2010)

Earlier, in 1971, a singing programme called ‘Jincyu Jiang’ was introduced, showcasing songs in Chinese and English for a general audience – rather than targeting students. The programme was emceed by Hong Siao-ciao, who sang her own songs accompanying herself on the guitar, and included songs sent in by listeners. One of the aims of this singing programme was to encourage people to compose songs in the Chinese and Taiwanese language and it could be said to be the first programme to do this (Jhang year unknown: 27). Meanwhile, since the late 1960s, student singers such as Hu De-fu and Wu Chu-chu had been exclusively singing songs in English, in restaurants and cafés, and had been transmitting a preference for non-Chinese material through their guitar lessons and performances (Ma ed. 1995: 16-19). It was not until Yang Xing’s ‘Jhongguo Siandai Minge’ concert and the ‘sing songs in our own language’ movement evoked by Li Shuang-ze that the listeners who were students of high schools or universities paid any attention to songs in Chinese.

The ‘sing songs in our own language’ movement led to a large number of

discussions in universities, which caught the attention of a producer from the Xinge record company, Yao Hou-sheng. It was Yao who first proposed the idea of launching the aforementioned 'Jinyun Jiang' singing contest in 1977, which contributed to the birth of 'campus song'. However, the first 'Jinyun Jiang' record was not as popular as Yao Hou-sheng had predicted, so he launched a tour of universities to promote interest in 'campus song'. This method turned out to be incredibly successful. Following the success of Xinge record company, recognising the commercial potential of 'campus song', Haishan record company launched an annual singing competition called 'Minyao Fong'. As further demonstration of how popular 'campus song' had become, a large number of 'minge restaurants' appeared at that time, in which singing students would perform for fellow students to guitar accompaniment. There was often such a queue to wait for a seat on entering a 'minge restaurant' that sometimes the customers were asked by the owner to spend one or two hours seeing a movie or shopping first and come back later (Ma ed. 1995: 53). Most listeners who bought records of campus song were students. Jhe, one of my interviewees who now runs a musical instrument shop in Taipei, worked in an establishment next to a minge restaurant in the 1970s and he would often drop in during breaks to see the performances. He remembers that many of the students who performed came from very good high schools or universities such as Taipei First Girl High School. I observed that minge restaurants were very common on the whole island throughout the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s. Concerts generally involved a sequence of a few performers, each performing for roughly an hour – singing to their own guitar accompaniment and telling jokes between songs. Because the singers were so popular among the student populace, the most famous were often invited to perform on TV programmes. Chen Siou-nan (see Example 3.1) explained to me that he, like

all the others, normally sang the title track from the latest recorded album, wearing a shirt and jeans. The image of the campus singer on TV was vitally important; in contrast with the singers of popular song, who were told what to wear by the directors of programmes – generally a suit for the men and a sparkly dress for the women – the campus song singers wore shirt and jeans, not out of obligation but because it was the fashion. Chen Siou-nan describes his experiences at the TV station as follows (personal communication in May 2009, my trans.):

Example 3.1: An interview of Chen Siou-nan

...

Q: Was there any particular request from the TV station when you attended a TV programme?

A: The reason why singers of *minge* were so popular is because they had the mark of being natural and true.

Q: You mean the programme producer or director was not concerned with what you sang or wore?

A: Oh, yes, of course, you had to sing songs from your album. For example, even if you have sung the song ‘Sanchang Dianying (After the Movie)’ hundreds of thousands of times, you still perform it.

Q: What about the way of performance?

A: General speaking, what could the singers of *Minge* or ‘Mujita’ [the name of Chen’s band] do? Of course, we five people would go on stage and sing a song together, and pretend to be playing instruments. Because the TV programmes were pre-recorded.

Q: So it wasn’t ever broadcast live while you performing?

A: Yes, we just adopted poses and looked silly. But it was the way of the times. There was no costume for performing on the stage, no makeup, no hair dressing, and it didn’t matter if you wore glasses on the stage – unlike nowadays. Everything was all right. Clothes and appearance were up to you. The record company only cared when the artist was about to release an album.

Q: So, the record companies, TV programme producers and so forth did not ask the singers of campus song much about their appearance or their way of performance? They just had to sing?

A: Yes, that’s right.

Q: What about compared to singers of popular song?

A: It wasn't so easy for the singers of popular song. Why? The singers of *minge* wore jeans and sneakers. It was a normal style to them. But if the singers of popular song dressed like that to attend a TV programme, the director would get angry and say "What is your record company doing? How can they send you here looking like that?"

As there was an increase in the popularity of campus song, other record companies started to imitate the image of campus song, producing albums that sounded and looked like the compilation albums of the campus song competition winners. For example, in 1979, a college student named Huang Jhong-kun, who sang songs at a *minge* restaurant called Aidiya, was given a recording contract by the producer Sia Chun-yong. Sia recognised a lack of singers with sunny, athletic appearance in the world of popular song and wished to emulate the distinct character of campus song (EBC TV, Taiwan Revelation accessed in Nov. 2009). Although this enabled a broader audience to listen to the music of campus song and broke down the boundary between campus and popular song categories, it did result in a greater degree of stylistic homogeneity – with all songs sounding similarly happy and optimistic. After the record companies came to dominate the domain of campus songs for commercial purposes, the listeners eventually lost interest and the singers of campus songs gradually lost their original aim of simply telling what they thought via songs they composed. The 'Jinyun Jiang' competition that had launched the movement in 1977 was held for the last time in 1984 and this effectively signaled the end of the movement. Although it was a short-lived movement, it did help the young intellectuals to enter the realm of popular music.

3.2 The early influence of American music

As detailed above, the singers of campus song invariably conformed to a stereotype –

wearing shirt and jeans and singing to their own guitar accompaniment (see Figure 3.3). Why? Americanisation spread worldwide after the Second World War and, as regards the Americanisation of popular music, the export of Hollywood films to other countries was a particularly potent influence, as Simon Frith has pointed out (1992: 59). One of the most influential media for the spread of American culture was the radio station 'Voice of America', which was established in 1942, shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. This was available across much of the globe, including the Far East and there are some studies that mention its profound influence (J.A. 1954: 248, see also Ungar 2005: 8-9). In Korea, for example, the American army's presence, ostensibly for the purpose of preventing the spread of Communist ideology, ensured that the products of American culture were widely broadcast. The American Forces Korea Network (AFKN) began broadcasting in 1951, signaling the onset of a wave of musical Americanisation, which quickly affected the Korean music industry. Korean singers and musicians took their opportunities to perform in military camps, learning songs in English and adopting an American style of performance (Maliangkay 2006: 21-33).

In Taiwan, TV listings from the 1970s reveal that American films and dramas were often included in the weekend schedules but American culture evidently had a profound influence on Taiwanese popular culture before that time, ever since the Korean war and the perceived threat of a wholly communist East Asia encouraged the Americans to strengthen their presence in Taiwan, signing the Sino-American mutual Defense Treaty in 1954. At this point, the radio stations were able to obtain 45rpm records and songs in English suddenly appeared on the airwaves, profoundly affecting Taiwan's students' attitudes towards popular song. The American soldiers of the United States Seventh Fleet and Thirteenth Air Force brought American

popular music with them and, as the songwriter and record producer Wong Siao-liang pointed out to me, American bands sometimes visited the island to perform for the garrisoned American military garrisoned and American clubs.

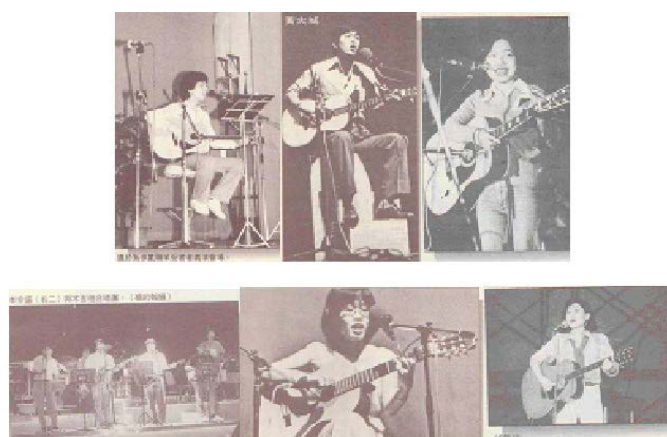


Figure 3.3: The image of the singers of campus songs (from Ma ed. 1995)

For example, an American Jazz sextet led by Jack Teagarden (see Figure 3.4) performed in Taipei in January 1959 and the national newspaper described in detail the band members and the instruments they played in several consecutive issues (*Central News* Jan. 3, 1959). Some years later, to attract customers, Jindu café advertised the fact that their in-house band featured a black American drummer (*United News* Sept. 2, 1962). In 1963, the Military Band of the United States Seventh Fleet performed a series of concerts over two days in Taipei when the fleet took up a berth at Keelung port, performing military music, dance music and jazz (see Figure 3.5) (*Central News* Sept. 17, 1963). Siao, one of my interviewees, told me that parties were held on Saturdays for the families of the American soldiers in the 1950s and Taiwan's musicians were hired to perform at these parties. However, it often happened that the Americans wanted to sing songs that the band didn't know and, in such cases, the musicians were forced to adapt and learn quickly, picking up the tune

from the first verse and then playing along for the rest of the song. Siao also pointed out to me that the singers of popular song, who were generally unable to read notation, often asked the musicians to work out the instrumental arrangements for them between the 1950s and 1970s, to suit the singer's style and the performance environment. At that time, there were a number of musicians from the Philippines who were also able to provide this service but they cost much more than Taiwan's musicians (personal communication on July 28, 2009).



Figure 3.4: Jack Teagarden's Sextet in Taipei Zhongshan hall (from *Central News* Jan. 3, 1959)

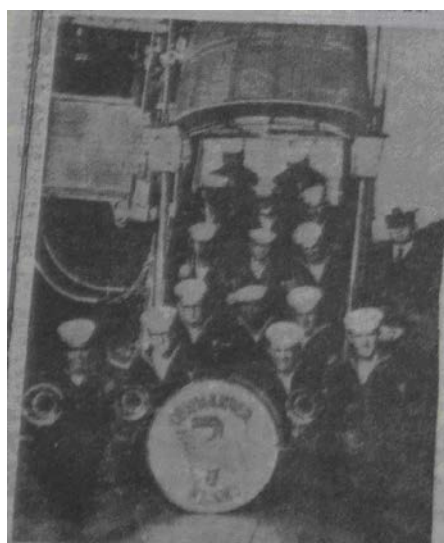


Figure 3.5: A picture of the Military Band of the United States Seventh Fleet (from *Central News* Sept. 17, 1963)

In 1954, the Armed Forces Network Taiwan (AFNT) radio station – now called ICRT – was established, broadcasting only in English, and the import of American records grew to such an extent that it became easy for students to buy records of songs in English. The records tended to be what is known as ‘B edition’, meaning pirated copies, and were sometimes labeled as ‘Syueshengjihyin (Sound of Students)’. The songwriter and producer Wong Siao-liang said that the whole Jhonghua Road in Taipei was full of record shops selling these pirated copies. He also told me that songs in English were very popular in the 1960s, especially the songs of The Beatles, The Rolling Stones and Elvis Presley, inspiring him to learn the guitar and set up a band when he was a teenager.

From the 1960s to 1970s, newspapers announced the ‘Top 10’ popular songs in English, mainly from America and Britain (*United News* Sept. 8, 1969; Aug. 9, 1971; Sept. 24, 1978), but did not provide any listings for Chinese- or Taiwanese-language songs. This evidence is further confirmation that the students favoured English language songs over songs in Chinese or Taiwanese. Wa-wa, a singer of Chinese language songs, mentioned that the youth were indeed fascinated by songs in English, associating Chinese language songs with the older generation (Ma ed. 1995: 58). The radio programme ‘Remenyinyue (The Hits)’ mainly presented contemporary popular songs in English and was highly popular with youngsters. Another programme, ‘Cingchunjhihge (Songs of Youth)’ exclusively broadcast songs in English. All of the singer-songwriters and record collectors who I interviewed claimed that they preferred popular songs in English during that period, adding that Chinese-language songs were tasteless. So how did these imported songs go on to influence the singing, performance, and composition of campus songs?

3.3 Bob Dylan: the idol of young Taiwanese intellectuals

The campus song singers' performance style may be said to have been affected by the music of Bob Dylan, in particular by the protest songs from the first half of the 1960s when he was seen as a folk singer. Indeed, Dylan is the influence who is mentioned by most of the singers. Li Shuang-ze sang Bob Dylan's song 'Blowing in the Wind' at the aforementioned 'Songs in English Language' concert. After having made his comments about the need to sing in 'our own language' and performing several Chinese- and Taiwanese-language songs, some of the audience remained dissatisfied. Li responded by saying "You want to listen to songs in English? Of course, there are good songs in English." and, at this point, he sang 'Blowing in the Wind'. Afterwards, Li asked the audience: "Why do you spend twenty dollars to listen to songs in English being performed by Chinese people?" (Tsai, M. 2004: 42-44). This incident is indicative of the fact that Bob Dylan was an idol of educated young people throughout the 1970s – a central model upon which the singers based their own image. Dylan continues to be a popular figure in the island and Taiwan was the first stop of his annual tour in April 2011, and the repertoire included 'Desolation Row' and 'Blowing in the Wind' (*The Liberty Times* on-line April 10, 2011). On April 3, his concert in Taipei attracted a large number of his Taiwanese fans from the upper- and middle- classes, as well as famous Taiwanese people such as the mayor of Taipei Hao Long-bin and the chairman of Fubon Financial Tsai Min-jhong, the poet Yu Guang-jhong, and the singers Hu De-fu and Li Jhong-sheng. Hu De-fu said that he had looked for answers and courage in the lyrics of Dylan's songs to face the changing world when he was young. Li Jhong-sheng mentioned that a lot of people had told him that his songs had accompanied their teenage years, and Li said that he had listened to Bob Dylan's songs when he was little (*United Daily News* April 4,

2011; see also *China Times* April 3, 2011 and National Education Radio website accessed in April 2011). The poet Yu Guang-jhong, whose poems were set to music by Yang Xing, claimed that Dylan's song 'Blowing in the wind' inspired him write the poem 'Jianghushang' on January 16, 1970 when he was in Denver in America. 'Jianghushang' has four verses that each end with the same sentence 'Daan A Daan, Zaimangmangde Fongli (The answer, oh the answer, is blowing in the wind)'. Yu openly acknowledges that this line derives from Dylan's song (Yu 2002: 1-3). Various questions naturally arise when one considers Dylan's status as an idol of the educated islanders in the 1970s: how did the singers perceive Dylan? What particular aspects of his style were they receptive to and influenced by?

Despite the fact that Dylan was criticised for the lack of unambiguous political identity in his music, many of his songs expressed a deep concern for the rights of the 'common man', especially in the first half of the 1960s. Because the sources of inspiration for much of Dylan's output during this period lay in the realms of lower class oral culture, traditional British folk music, Black blues, hymns and so forth, Dylan quickly became labeled as a 'folk artist' (Mellers 1981: 143-157). Dylan grew up in a small working class mining community in Minnesota until he left home in 1961 at the age of 19, wishing to follow a folk musician called Woody Guthrie, who was a dust bowl worker and a powerful inspiration for the folk revival that was taking place at that time. Partly in emulation of Guthrie, Dylan became well acquainted with the experiences and tastes of the under-privileged whites and blacks and it was with these people in mind that he wrote many of his early songs. In particular, these songs addressed the injustices, financial problems, lack of social support, and discrimination that afflicted the working classes, conveying social and political realities and the thoughts and emotions of those involved (Dunlap 2006:

549-573). As Fuchs shows, it is often the case that a singer's image becomes as much responsible for representing and transmitting particular social values as his or her music – music and image becoming intertwined to strongly assert social, political and commercial views (Fuchs 1999: 178-187). This was certainly the case with Dylan.

A large proportion of Dylan's songs from the 1960s are referred to as 'protest songs', belonging to the folk protest movement. This movement had its roots in the 'Peoples' Songs' organisation, which had approximately 2000 members in the 1940s, who gathered to perform songs in support of demonstrations and provide a forum for political expression through song. By the 1960s, leading members such as Pete Seeger and Lee Hays considered that the most widely performed and powerful protest songs, such as 'We Shall Overcome', had acquired a marked ability to inspire positive social change (Dunaway 1992: 374-379). As the sociologist R. Serge Denisoff clarified, while the 1960s constituted a period of growing affluence and complacency among the middle class, while at the same time protest songs were expressing feelings of profound dissatisfaction and support for campaigns relating to the civil rights, anti-war, and feminist movements. Protest songs encouraged critical thinking and the expression of feelings. Within the folk protest movement, singers such as Dylan and Seeger were regarded as 'men of the people', singing of and for their audiences, sharing the same values, and revealing commonly held thoughts and feelings through their work (Dunlap 2006: 549-573).

At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that the 'movement culture' of the 1960s, of which Dylan was a leading figurehead, sought to evince a reformation of social life in a peaceful way instead of through raising conflict between opposing factions of class, gender, and race (Eyerma & Jamison 1998: 13-

17). Rather than urge an active response to injustice, Dylan's songs tended to encourage a moralistic reflection on the part of the listener. To reach a wide audience and stimulate the listeners' consciences, his songs often presented detailed emotive accounts of fictional and non-fictional experience, sometimes provoking thought by asking rhetorical questions and employing allusion to richly symbolic features of nature such as wind, fish and mountains. Through these and other means, he provoked listeners to rethink what they had taken for granted and reassess behaviour in terms of right and wrong. Open criticism and endorsement of conflict are seldom conspicuous features in his work. However, political ideas are nonetheless apparent in the songs and can be viewed as a reflection of – and, to a certain extent, an instigator of – socio-political change in the 1960s (Gleason 1972: 137-146).

I shall now turn to examine whether the singers of campus songs in Taiwan had similar objectives and values to Dylan. To address this complex area, it is useful to divide the 'sing songs in our own language' movement into two periods: the *minge* (folk song) movement, which pre-dated the introduction of the term 'campus song' in 1977, and the period that ensued, lasting until 1984. Prior to 1977, 'singing songs in our own language' was not a commercial enterprise; the movement simply involved students singing for one another about their own concerns, providing an alternative to the mass-marketed songs in the English language. But when 'Jinyun Jiang' was launched in 1977, the commercial forces of the record companies penetrated the *minge* movement and the campus song movement was born.

Yang Xing and Li Shuang-ze were leading representatives of the *minge* movement. The main issue that they raised was the perceived necessity for young intellectuals to perform and to listen to songs in Chinese instead of English. Yang Xing learned how to play guitar in 1968 while he was an undergraduate and started

to write songs from the third year at university. In his early twenties, he had noticed that most students did not listen to songs in Chinese and this worried him, motivating him to create his own songs in Chinese, to be performed with like-minded friends within the context of informal concerts (Ma ed. 1995: 15). Yang Xing chose to set Yu Guang-jhong's poems, which distinctly portrayed Chinese values and imagery, and he performed the songs in a concert in 1975 to remind the listeners who they were, where they lived and what language they communicated in, releasing the songs on an album entitled 'Jhongguo Siandai Mingeji' in the latter part of the year. Yang Xing's second album 'Sichuyangguan', released in 1977, featured fewer allusions to Chinese culture, instead focusing on the ideal of equality between all of the island's inhabitants, be they Chinese, Taiwanese, or aborigine, and also introducing more references to nature (Tsai 2004: 58-61). These early albums differed from the later albums of 'Jinyun Jiang' in that they were the result of the artist's own self-promotion rather than the selective decisions of the record companies. Yang went to the United States to study in 1977 and left the domain of the *minge* movement.

Yang Xing combined aspects of Western music with Chinese themes and language in such a way as to provoke his listeners to examine who they were in peaceful self-reflection. In this respect, he resembled Dylan. However, in contrast with Dylan, he did not explicitly engage with issues relating to injustice and morality; his songs simply reminded listeners: 'do not forget we are Chinese'. Rather than engage with the needs and desires of the underprivileged, he was addressing the desires of the privileged; his listeners constituted the wealthiest of the island's youth, who would inevitably enjoy the benefits of their power within a few years. One of Yang Xing's famous songs, 'Siangchou Sihyun (Homesick)' (see Example 3.2), reminisces about motherland China, mentioning the Changjiang River, flowering

Chinese crab apple trees, letters sent from family on the mainland, and plum blossom. The overriding messages are: we miss you, we cannot return to see you, Taiwan is not our home, and we are only here because we have to be. Evidently, the Chinese Nationalist Party's message that Taiwan was a part of the Republic of China failed to convince the Chinese immigrants that Taiwan could therefore be conceived of as 'home'; ironically, these teachings simply promoted the Chinese Immigrants' desire to leave.

Example 3.2: Siangchou Sihyun (Homesick)

給我一瓢長江水啊 長江水 Give me a glass of water from the Changjiang River, oh,
Changjiang River:

那酒一樣的長江水 The taste of water from the Chang-Jiang River is like wine.

那醉酒的滋味是鄉愁的滋味 The feeling of drunkenness is like the feeling of being homesick.

給我一瓢長江水啊 長江水 Give me a glass of water from the Changjiang River, oh,
Changjiang River.

給我一張海棠紅啊海棠紅 Give me a leaf of red begonia grandis, oh, red begonia grandis:

那血一樣的海棠紅 The colour of the leaf is as red as blood.

那沸血的燒痛是鄉愁的燒痛 The hurt of being wounded is like the hurt of being homesick.

給我一張海棠紅啊海棠紅 Give me a leaf of begonia grandis, oh, red begonia grandis.

給我一片雪花白啊雪花白 Give me a piece of white snow, oh, white snow:

那信一樣的雪花白 The letter is as white as white snow.

那家信的等待是鄉愁的等待 Waiting for letters from home is like waiting to go back home.

給我一片雪花白啊雪花白 Give me a piece of white snow, oh, white snow.

給我一朵臘梅香啊臘梅香 Give me Chinese plum blossom, oh, Chinese plum blossom:

那母親一樣的臘梅香 The fragrance of plum blossom reminds me of my mother

那母親的芬芳是鄉土的芬芳 And thoughts of my mother remind me of the homeland.

給我一朵臘梅香啊臘梅香 Give me Chinese plum blossom, oh, Chinese plum blossom.

Li Shuang-ze similarly emphasised singing in the Chinese language. However, he took much more influence from local music than Yang Xing, including some famous Taiwanese-language songs in his repertoire, such as ‘Bu Powang (Fix a Fishing Net)’ and ‘Yuyehua (The Flowers in the Rain during the Night)’, and composing songs that combined Chinese ideology with a new-found focus on Taiwanese culture and identity. His greater interest in local culture might in part have derived from his background as a Chinese Philippine who had traveled to many Western countries, including the United States and Spain following his graduation from Tamkang University (Ma ed. 1995: 99-101). On returning to Taiwan, he became a conspicuous figure in his old university, conveying his concerns to the younger students. Li Shuang-ze urged his listeners to be socially responsible within the country to which they belonged. Studying and imitating Western culture was not enough; the young people should devote their attentions to the country in which they found themselves; as the lucky future-holders of power, they should anticipate a bright future while maintaining a critical view of what freedom and democracy entail. A good proportion of his most well known songs, including ‘Shaonian Jhongguo (Young China)’ and ‘Meilidao (Formosa)’, demonstrate this outlook. While continuing to reference the motherland with Chinese symbols, in a similar manner to Yang Xing, Li Shuang-ze’s additional emphasis on social responsibility and the position of the individual within a given locality makes him seem more akin to Dylan.

Li Shuang-ze accepted the possibility that the Chinese immigrants might be unable to return to the mainland and duly embraced the idea of Taiwan becoming ‘home’. Yang Xing’s songs presented the Chinese inhabitants of Taiwan as being cruelly separated from their origins, in an alien place. However, Li stressed a connection between Taiwan and mainland China: if Taiwan is really seen as an

extension of China, then, we, the Chinese people, should not be sad because we are actually still connected to our roots. Taiwan, in Li Shuang-ze's eyes, was no longer a colony. This idea is clearly expressed in the song 'Shaonian Jhongguo (Young China)' (CD track 5), wherein 'Young China' refers to Taiwan (see Example 3.3). Here, Li asks: how can the younger generation, born and raised in Taiwan, understand the feeling of losing home? It is better for them to accept Taiwan as their home while at the same time appreciating that their roots are connected to the mainland, having heard all about China from older relatives and acquaintances. The song has an ABAB two-verse structure. In the A parts (lines 1 to 4 in each verse), which are delivered in slow 4/4 metre, the lyrics are concerned with reminiscences of China. Then, following the line 'You said to me', which is delivered in free-rhythm, the tempo switches to a double-speed 4/4 metre for the B parts, the lyrics exhorting the listeners not to be sad; instead, they should think of the present, the future, and Taiwan.

Example 3.3: Shaonian Jhongguo (Young China)

| | |
|------------|---|
| 我們隔著遼遙的山河 | There are mountains and rivers in view |
| 去看望祖國的土地 | when we look to the motherland. |
| 你用你的足跡 | You go there in person; |
| 我用我遊子的鄉愁 | I visit in the imagination of a homesick traveller. |
| 你對我說 | You said to me... |
| 古老的中國沒有鄉愁 | There is no homesickness in ancient China; |
| 鄉愁是給沒有家的人 | Homesickness belongs to people who have no home. |
| 少年的中國也不要鄉愁 | There is no homesickness in Young China; |
| 鄉愁是給不回家的人 | Homesickness belongs to someone who can't go home. |
| | |
| 我們隔著遼遙的山河 | There are mountains and rivers on the view |
| 去看望祖國的土地 | when we look at the motherland. |
| 你用你的足跡 | You go there in person; |

| | |
|------------|---|
| 我用我遊子的鄉愁 | I visit in the imagination of a homesick traveller. |
| 你對我說 | You said to me... |
| 少年的中國沒有學校 | There is no school in Young China; |
| 她的學校是大地的山川 | The mountains are rivers are her schools. |
| 少年的中國也沒有老師 | There is no teacher in Young China; |
| 她的老師是大地的人民 | The people are her teachers. |

The inspiration to 'sing songs in our own language' did not cease after Li Shuang-ze died rescuing an American from drowning in 1977, and after Yang Xing went abroad to study. Other student intellectuals were already singing and composing songs in Chinese to such an extent that it attracted the attention of major record companies. The Chinese ideology revealed in Yang Xing and Li Shuang-ze's songs persisted in campus songs (although not often reflecting Li's focus on Taiwan as a new homeland) and the spirit of singing in Chinese rapidly spread throughout high schools, colleges and universities. Yang Xing and Li Shuang-ze had achieved one of their main goals. But did the singers of campus songs examine social values and injustice, labour exploitation, agrarian life, or politics in any sense? Did the introduction of commercial forces transform the contents of the songs away from the 'sing songs in our own language' origins? The term 'campus song' accurately conveys that the musical performance was by and for students, student singers transmitting their perspectives to their peers. However, in spite of this implied collective identity, it is apparent that there was a certain amount of divergence between the opinions expressed in the songs.

Following Li Shuang-ze's path, Yang Zu-jyun, who was a student of Tamkang University, sought to reconcile campus song with political and social movements. In her biography, she tells of her deep dissatisfaction with the education system, in which teachers treated students 'as ducks', feeding them information instead of

teaching them about critical thinking. She had allegedly had thoughts of resisting institutional power since she was young but Li Shuang-ze's proposal to 'sing songs in our own language' spurred her into action, motivating her to write an article to the University's Journal, promoting Li's message. She recalls this episode in her biography:

I believed that no one could be happy so long as he or she was singing songs in English accompanied by guitar, believing that those songs represented their country ... Rather than ask the question "why do we, the Chinese people, not sing songs in Chinese?" we should ask: "why are we not able to sing songs in Chinese?"... We should ask ourselves: "Have I done anything to help make the Chinese people able to sing songs in Chinese in a modern way, suiting the new age?" (Yang 1992: 14-15, my trans.).

As shown above, Li Shaung-ze had already expressed this sentiment in 'Shaonian Jhongguo' (see Example 3.3), and he explored it further in 'Meilidao' (see Example 3.4) (CD track 6), which was a setting of a poem by Chen Siou-li. The song, sung by Yang and Hu De-hu, is in 3/4 rhythm with a steady beat of 120 bpm and simple guitar accompaniment tracing a formulaic dominant, sub-dominant, tonic, dominant progression. The alternating male and female voices seek to represent the total work force, living together in Taiwan and experiencing it as home. The lyrics describe Taiwan as a 'beautiful island' and mention plants that are commonly seen in the Taiwanese countryside. At the time, even though the song had been released, it was not allowed to be broadcast (Yang 1992: 31), presumably because the Chinese Nationalist party feared that such a positive depiction of the island that might distract the masses from the objective of returning to mainland China to defeat the Chinese Communist Party.

Example 3.4: Meilidao (Formosa)

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 我們搖籃的美麗島 | Our beautiful island is a cradle, |
| 是母親溫暖的懷抱 | held in the arms of a mother. |
| 驕傲的祖先們正視著 | Our proud ancestors are looking at us – |
| 正視著我們的腳步 | Looking at what we are doing. |
| 他們一再重覆的叮嚀 | They keep reminding us: |
| 不要忘記不要忘記 | Don't forget, don't forget. |
| 他們一再重覆的叮嚀 | They keep reminding us: |
| 萆路藍縷 以啟山林 | There was poverty and hardship when we built this country. |
| | |
| 婆娑無邊的太平洋 | The endless Pacific Ocean |
| 懷抱著自由的土地 | embraces a land with freedom. |
| 溫暖的陽光照耀著 | The mountains and the fields |
| 照耀著高山和田園 | are under sunshine. |
| 我們這裡有勇敢的人民 | There are brave people: |
| 萆路藍縷 以啟山林 | There was poverty and hardship when we built this country. |
| 我們這裡有無窮的生命 | It is full of life: |
| 水牛 稻米 香蕉 玉蘭花 | Buffalo, rice, banana, magnolia. |

On September 10, 1977, Yang received a phone call about the death of Li Shaung-ze. She and Hu De-fu, another campus song singer, hurriedly prepared these two songs ‘Shaonian Zhongguo’ and ‘Meilidao’, to perform at Li’s funeral. It was around this time that Yang discovered her ‘calling’ and her excitement is expressed in her biography:

That’s it, that’s it: China/Taiwan, Taiwan/China. Why didn’t I think of it? My China was right under my feet. I’d been educated that China and Taiwan were two parallel lines which would never be joined. I had been looking for a connection. Oh, suddenly, I realised that the connection between China and Taiwan was the earth I stood on and the people right here (Yang 1992: 18-19, my trans.).

To devote herself to spreading this message through song within a wider social movement, she gave up an offer to study in the United States and a job with a high salary. She invited other singers to propagate songs in local languages including Taiwanese, Hakka, and aboriginal languages on campus, in factories and in the countryside. She also encouraged social reform within Taiwan, organising a benefit concert entitled 'Cingcaodi Yanchanghuei (Green Grass Concert)', held on August 16, 1978, to raise money for prostitutes under 18 years old. It was the first outdoor concert held in Taiwan and was extremely popular. However, its success attracted the government's suspicions, causing complications for the release of her album. Another singer Mao Jhu-lun had been there at the concert and had warned her of the government's inevitable perception of her as an anti-establishment figure. Yang Zu-jyun's idealistic attempts to improve the lives of underprivileged social groups and encourage critical thinking among her listeners make her seem like a particularly Dylan-esque character within the campus song movement. However, like Li Shuang-ze, Yang ultimately failed to advance her aims. She was forced to leave Taiwan in 1981 under growing pressure from a government that viewed her activities as incompatible with their own (Yang 1992: 22-41).

3.4 Campus song and the intervention of the music industry

It is apparent that Yang Zu-jyun was exceptional: almost all of the other singers of campus songs appear to have entered the realm of popular music with no socio-political agenda independent of the authorities. For most of them, it was simply an interesting and fun way to express themselves, under encouragement from peers and motivated by the hope of a prize and minor fame in a competition. Following the desires of their parents, these privileged students of colleges and universities aspired

to get well-paid, high status jobs, perhaps after additional periods of study and travel abroad. They did not regard themselves as lowly singers and this self-perception was further reflected in the informal, unprofessional way that they dressed to attend TV programmes.

Chen Siao-nan, who now works as a songwriter and a record producer, was once a singer of campus song. He told me that he was initially motivated to learn the guitar because he had seen older ‘cool’ students playing the instrument when he was in high school and, later, a friend encouraged him to enter the ‘Jinyun Jiang’ competition. He remembered that it was exciting to see the singers because they were able to communicate thoughts and emotions so effectively; like others, he thought that they expressing messages that were hard to articulate in other sphere of life due to the conservatism of Taiwanese society. The popularity of campus song and popular music-making in general spread among the youth as singers increasingly toured universities. Chen confirmed that many parents were not happy with this, giving the example of Li Zong-sheng, the famous singer and record producer, whose father was so angry with him at the beginning of his music-making career that he smashed Li’s guitar. It was not until some years later, when Li had become a famous singer and producer, that his father sent a letter saying: “Son, I am proud of you” (personal communication on May 18, 2009).

One of the reasons for the change of name from ‘*minge*’ to ‘campus song’ was the growing feeling that the word *minge* (folk song) no longer applied to the majority of songs. After Yang Xing’s well-publicised concert ‘Jhongguo Siandai Minge (Chinese Modern Folksongs)’, some newspapers published articles from readers such as Hu Hong-bou (a Chinese literature lecturer) complaining about the recent application of the word, suggesting that it should only be used for music or songs

transmitted by oral tradition (without notation) within a particular social group over a long period, with no known composer. The same view was influentially forwarded by the musicologist Hsu Zhan-huei. In other words, the prefix ‘folk’ should only be used for cultural forms shaped by a group of people from a certain locality, sharing values and aesthetics (Degirmenci 2006: 47-65). In addition, the newspapers argued that Yang Xing’s concerts and his albums should not include the word ‘Jhongguo (Chinese)’ in their titles because the musical style was not Chinese. On the other hand, advocates of the term ‘*minge*’, including the poet Yu Guan-jhong, claimed that the word’s meaning would inevitably have to evolve to suit the current predicament; radical social changes meant that the creation and dissemination of music was much quicker and easier than it had been before. They argued that the term was still applicable because the songs continued to reflect the shared values and aesthetics of a particular social group: students. As a compromise, to appease the critics and yet still convey the association of the form with a particular group, the term ‘campus song’ was widely adopted (Jhong 2007: 5-8; see also Tsai 2004: 28-39).

While it was inevitable that the intervention of the record companies in the late 1970s would introduce a financial motivation for singing to the students, it is apparent that the record companies were careful not to alter the original non-profit ethos too radically. The producer and owner of Xingge record company, Yao Hou-sheng, who was the originator and manager of the ‘Jinyun Jiang’ competition, explained that there were two main reasons for initiating it. On the one hand, with Taiwan facing an economic crisis at the time, the students constituted a money-saving solution, since they were already actively singing and promoting themselves; on the other hand, and more importantly, with only modest commercial backing, a potentially enormous market could be generated, if the nation’s intellectuals could be

encouraged to switch to listening to Chinese-language songs en masse. Another motivation for launching the competition was the prospect of tapping into a rich reservoir of songwriting talent and identifying skilled producers. To encourage the students to take part in the competition, Yao and the record company offered a high reward of around 50,000 dollars for first place and changed the name from the original suggestion of ‘Cyuanguo Dajhuanyuansiao Gecyu Guanmodahuei (National Singing Event for College and University Students)’ to the more commercially-oriented ‘Jinyun Jiang (Golden Tune Awards)’. But how did the company deal with those students who did not wish to have any connection with the commercial domain, or the students who did not view themselves as singers, or even the tide of disapproval from ambitious parents? To appease these factions, in publicity imagery and the events themselves, the record company emphasised that the singers remained recognisable as students; as mentioned before, they did not wear the fancy clothes and make-up of professional entertainers. In addition, the company stressed that any profits from winning and record sales would be highly beneficial, not for promoting a singing career but for enabling study abroad (Ma ed. 1995: 110-114).

It is generally thought that the intervention of the Xingge record company, by initiating the ‘Jinyun Jiang’ competition and marketing the winning songs, was ultimately responsible for the eventual decline of the movement. While the campus songs became increasingly formulaic and homogeneous in order to conform to the record company’s winning standards, other forms of popular song, performed by non-student singers, came to imitate the image and stylistic traits of campus song, under the direction of other record companies who were keen to capitalise on the image. In this way, the boundaries between campus song and other forms were obscured. I would argue that the record company’s intervention not only introduced a

commercial element to the students' music-making but also, from the very start, filtered the content of the campus songs; the original motivation of 'speaking for ourselves' was subordinated to meeting commercial requirements (although I suspect the singers were able to speak out what they really wanted to say). Negotiation now occurred, as Larkey has put it in general terms, between "the artists and the audiences, the artists and the industry, the artists among themselves, the artists and the cultural authorities, the artists and past traditions" (Larkey 1992 : 154; see also Lewis 1992: 143-146). The singers of campus song came under the control of an invisible hand and, with campus song having become goods in the commercial industries, a balance between supply and demand was established.

From the very beginning of 'Jinyun Jiang', the record company wanted to tap into the student market and therefore restricted participation to students, selecting only those student singers who corresponded to a stereotype that would sell well. The company used the China Youth Corps, which was a branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party, to promote the events and thereby diminish the commercial image. It also told the judges to exclude all professional, mature singers at the first round, and only to involve students. After selecting suitable singers, the record company gave them songs to practice and set a date for recording; the preparation of the material and the final rendition of the songs in the studio constituted the singers' primary responsibilities. Beyond this, the personnel of the record companies were in charge of every step of the production process. The songs themselves, together with their lyrics and music arrangements were all determined by the record companies. Yu Jhong-min, a producer who joined the campus song industry at the second annual 'Jinyun Jiang', pointed out that 'plainness' and 'cleanness' were the desired attributes of 'Jinyun Jiang' albums and professional music arrangers were employed to achieve

this aesthetic, adding unassuming brass, woodwind, and strings to the obligatory guitar – which was sometimes low down in the mix. While the arrangements were designed to be of broad appeal, at the same time, they were intended to differ noticeably from the arrangements of Chinese-language popular song (Ma ed. 1995: 44-114). One of the leading campus song arrangers, Chen Jih-yuan, stressed the importance of achieving broad appeal and profit through his art, going as far as labelling himself ‘a commercial artist’. His friend Luo Da-you, a famous singer of Chinese-language popular song, once asked him: “Why don’t you do something of your own?” Chen replied: “If I make the music I want, who will listen to it?” (Diao 1984: 14-15, my trans.). Campus song was far more a vehicle for profit than a vehicle for protest.

3.5 The influence of Dylan’s music on campus song

The previous discussion reveals that the singers of campus songs were not concerned with the plights of the under-privileged and did not seek to reach the common people through their performance. With a few exceptions, they sang only for themselves, singing of their own identity in their own language and also, after the interception of the record industry, making some money in the process. The campus song movement provided the students with a musical culture that was distinct from mainstream Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular song, reflecting the students’ own social positions as separate from the masses – a theme that I shall return to later on. So, it is readily apparent that the singers of campus song did not resemble Bob Dylan in their objectives; on the contrary, there appears to have been a marked policy not to engage in anti-war and civil rights social movements. But the fact remains that the students routinely named Dylan as an inspiration. Accordingly, discussion will now turn to

explore whether or not Dylan's song writing and distinctive style of performance had any identifiable influence on the campus song aesthetic.

In his early career, Dylan typically sang to his own guitar accompaniment, providing occasional interludes on harmonica, which he played using a harmonica-holder attached around his neck. The image was that of being a self-reliant soloist. Meanwhile, his voice had a pronounced speech-like inflection that lent itself to the often story-like content of the songs. For instance, in 'Talking World War Blues' and 'It's alright, Ma (I'm Only Bleeding)', the volume of the guitar is low while Dylan's speech-song dominates, rapidly articulating texts that are far longer than the average song text in order to impart richly detailed political messages. The role of story-teller is also pronounced in 'Down the Highway', which begins with Dylan's unaccompanied voice. In this song, which is made up of three-line phrases, he switches between speech-like articulation and brief passages of melismatic song happening during the second bar of each third line. The speech-like aspect of Dylan's vocalisation is often particularly pronounced at the ends of phrases, in the execution of marked downward portamentos. Ultimately, then, the voice and its message is consistently the point of focus for listeners. The guitar simply provides a supporting backdrop, often playing short repeated sequences and sometimes retreating so far into the background that it ceases to co-ordinate with the all-important text.

In Taiwan, the image of the self-reliant guitar-playing singer had already been forged during the *minge* movement and the singers of campus song continued to be closely identified with the guitar through their appearance in concerts and TV programmes. However, in the campus song albums, the guitar quickly lost its dominant role, becoming little more than a token, with the sonorities of the other instruments taking over in the texture. The guitar became a symbol, linking the form

with its earlier origins and signifying an ideal. Meanwhile, the singers of campus song did not attempt to emulate Dylan's aforementioned speech-song style, partly to maintain the clean and pure vocal style and partly for linguistic reasons, Chinese being a tonal language using one word per syllable. Nevertheless, accompanimental simplicity remained a feature, especially in the songs composed by the students themselves. H, a songwriter of campus song who later became a producer, explained to me that most singers and songwriters of campus song were not music students and that this was part of the reason for the simplicity, brightness and naivety of the style. Analysis reveals that most songs feature an AB, AAB, AA'B or ABA form with phrases of 8, 12 or 16 bars in length and simple functional harmony. The three following songs are typical examples:

'Weiguangjiongde Geyin (Singing in the Early Morning)': A (16 bars) A (16) B (16)

'Fuyun Youzih (A Youth Left Home)': A (8) A' (8) B (8)

'Baifang Chuntian (A Visit in Spring)': A (8) B (8) A (8) form.

The songs were typically in 4/4 or 3/4 metre with the voice marking regular rhythmic arrangements such as:



'Ruguo (If)' (Score 3.1), notated below, constitutes an example of a song featuring a slightly more irregular organisation, with an A (8) B (9) form and lilting syncopated rhythm.

Score 3.1:

Ruguo(If)



It is particularly in respect to song texts that one can detect similarities between campus songs and Bob Dylan's early work – in particular in the use of devices such as repetition, parallelism, symmetry, and question and answer. These features are easily distinguishable in Dylan's 'Blowing in the Wind' for example:

How many roads must a man walk down before you call him a man?
Yes and how many seas must a white dove sail before she sleeps in the sand?
Yes and how many times must the cannon balls fly before they're forever banned?
The answer my friend is blowing in the wind,
The answer is blowing in the wind.

The composers of campus song employed these same devices to establish similarly elegantly structured verses, which often bear striking similarities to 'Blowing in the Wind' and other famous Dylan tracks. 'Rangwomen Kanyunchu (Let's Go to See the Clouds)' (Example 3.5), 'Ganlanshu (Olive Tree)' (Example 3.6) and 'Wangle Woshihshui (I Forget Who I Am)' (Example 3.7) are good examples:

Example 3.5: Rangwomen Kanyunchu (Let's Go to See the Clouds)

| | |
|-----------|--|
| 女孩 為什麼哭泣 | Girl, why do you cry? |
| 難道心中藏著不如意 | Is there something unhappy in your mind? |
| 女孩 為什麼嘆息 | Girl, why do you sigh? |
| 莫非心裡躲著憂鬱 | Is there something sad in your mind? |
| ... | |

Example 3.6: Ganlanshu (Olive Tree)

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 為什麼流浪 流浪遠方 流浪 | Why tramp, tramp far away, tramp? |
| 為了天空飛翔的小鳥 | Because of the flying birds in the sky, |
| 為了山間輕流的小溪 | Because of the flowing mountain stream, |
| 為了寬闊的草原 | Because of the spacious plain. |
| 流浪遠方 流浪 | Tramp far away, tramp. |
| ... | |

Example 3.7: Wangle Woshihshui (I Forget Who I Am)

| | |
|---------|--|
| 不看你的眼 | I won't look at your eyes, |
| 不看你的眉 | I won't look at your eyebrows. |
| 看了心裡都是你 | All my heart thinks of you after looking at you. |
| 忘了我是誰 | I forget who I am. |
| 不看你的眼 | I won't look at your eyes, |
| 不看你的眉 | I won't look at your eyebrows. |
| ... | |

Of the various popular American singers that they encountered and readily received as young students, Bob Dylan soon emerged as their favourite. His image of the self-reliant guitar player motivated many to learn the guitar and begin composing their own songs in a related style. In campus song, the above-mentioned devices of lyric composition, features of music setting, and way of performance are testament to Dylan's influence. However, the themes of Dylan's early songs and the sources he drew upon led to his being labelled a 'folk singer' and this leads us to the question: did the singers of campus song use the songs as a vehicle to convey messages to and

communicate with the ‘common man’ as Dylan did?

3.6 The themes of campus song

Many of the campus singers who contributed their ideas to *The Timelessness of Campus Song* (Ma ed. 1995) point out that a major motivation for them to join the movement was that it granted them an outlet to express secrets, feelings and ideas that could not be made public in other ways. But what exactly did these privileged students express through their songs? It is clear that these students held rather different relationships to authority than Dylan.

In order to reveal the typical textual content of campus songs, it is helpful to refer to the collection known as *Yongyuande Weiyangxingge (Timeless Campus Songs)* (a different publication to that edited by Ma). This songbook was published by Gunshih international music company in 1997 and gives notations and lyrics for all 200 campus songs released in the sets of albums ‘Gunshih Jinyun Jiang Minge Baida Jingsyuan’ and ‘Gunshih Minge Shihdai Baida Jingdeng’. This collection reveals themes of love, personal responses to aspects of everyday life (for example, the experience of catching a loach), nationalistic songs about China, and nature, including flowers, seasons (spring was frequently used), animals (especially birds and butterflies), the sun, moon, stars, ocean, snow, rain and so on. 40% of the songs in the collection are concerned with love; 38% present personal responses to aspects of everyday life; 13% are concerned with nature; and, finally, 24% address the relationship with China, introducing Chinese cultural symbols. The prevalence of songs about love and the relationship with China are particularly interesting. The singers and songwriters of campus song regularly criticised mainstream Chinese-language popular song as being ‘shallow’ on the basis of its being overly concerned

with love but evidently they themselves often addressed the topic. Meanwhile, this younger generation of singers and songwriters were born and bred in Taiwan, so one might initially wonder why Chinese symbols and themes should remain of interest; what do these songs say about the singers' self-perception and ideals? Of course, one of music's primary functions is to delineate group boundaries and communicate affiliations; through musical performance and participation, people indicate their personal and group ties and establish their position in the wider world (see Frith 2003: 92-101). So I am interested to explore how facets of Chinese identity were projected and shaped through campus song.

Chinese cultural identity appeared in campus song in various ways. Some songs set ancient Chinese poems to music – for example, 'Chaituofong' and 'Kongcyue Dongnanfei'. Others featured new poems that were based on ancient poems of their titles, ancient articles, or historical events – for example, 'Chihbifu', and 'Yishuei Han'. 'Chaituofong' and 'Kongcyue Dongnanfei' both concerned ancient tragic love stories, while 'Chihbifu' and 'Yishuei Han' described places where historic events and heroic actions had occurred. These choices of subject matter served to project three crucial aspects of the singers' identities and those of their audience. Firstly, the songs demonstrated intellectual knowledge, separating the repertoire and the consumers from the world of mainstream Chinese popular culture and highlighting the high social status of the singers and listeners. Throughout Chinese history, the ancient body of poetry has been studied and reproduced by members of the cultural elite. In traditional Chinese society, intellectuals constituted the highest social stratum in the four-tiered structure: *shih* (intellectuals), *nong* (farmers), *gong* (workers), and *shang* (businessmen). Secondly, the choice of subject matter revealed an unwilling separation from mainland China, sometimes expressed

through allusion to the separation of a couple. Two examples of the latter are 'Kongcyue Dongnanfei' and 'Chaituofong', in which husbands are forced to divorce their wives in spite of deep love. In 'Kongcyue Dongnanfei', the wife returns to her own family, is asked by her older brother to remarry with a politically powerful man, but kills herself instead because she cannot disobey her brother or betray her former husband. In 'Chaituofong', the story similarly ends with the woman's death. Thirdly, songs like 'Chihbifu' and 'Yishuei Han' remind the listeners about well-known heroes in Chinese history who were brave, intelligent, and full of strength and who made sacrifices for their countries, devoting themselves to noble causes. Ever since the Second World War, the political situation in Taiwan had remained similar to the situation that the songs presented: unsecured and dangerous. The songs represented the adherence of the young and well educated to traditional values, their loyalty to the authorities, and their willingness to fight to retain political stability.

Homesickness is a recurrent theme in campus songs and one that again relates to the expression of Chinese identity. The vast majority of the Chinese immigrants were soldiers who had left their homes in their teens and never saw or contacted their parents, wives and children, or other family members again, following their departure in the late 1940s. For forty years, until martial law was finally lifted, the immigrants and their descendants were unable to return to China even for a visit and, although some re-married in Taiwan, mainland China always remained their homeland. They wistfully reminisced about China, recounting stories to the younger generations and reminding them that mainland China was where they were from and where they belonged.

A number of Chinese cultural icons are also regularly employed in campus song to express ties with the mainland: geographical features such as pastures,

deserts, the Yellow River, and Changjiang River; man-made structures such as the Great Wall; and other Chinese symbols such as the totemic dragon. ‘Longde Chuagren (The Descendants of the Dragon)’ (see Example 3.8) is one of the most well-known campus songs expressing Chinese cultural identity.

Example 3.8: Longde Chuagren (The Descendants of the Dragon)

| | |
|-----------|--|
| 遙遠的東方有一條江 | There is a river in the Far East, |
| 它的名字就叫長江 | Its name is Changjiang River. |
| 遙遠的東方有一條河 | There is a river in the Far East, |
| 它的名字就叫黃河 | Its name is Huanghe River. |
| 雖不曾看見長江美 | Although I’ve never seen the beauty of the Changjiang River, |
| 夢裡常神遊長江水 | I always dream about it. |
| 雖不曾聽見黃河壯 | Although I’ve never heard the sound of the Huanghe River, |
| 澎湃洶湧在夢裡 | It always appears in my dreams. |
| | |
| 古老的東方有一條龍 | There is a dragon in the ancient Far East, |
| 她的名字就叫中國 | Her name is China. |
| 古老的東方有一群人 | There was a group of people in the ancient Far East, |
| 他們全都是龍的傳人 | They were all descendants of the dragon. |
| 巨龍腳底下我成長 | I live in the place where the dragon is, |
| 長成以後是龍的傳人 | I will be a descendant of the dragon when I grow up. |
| 黑眼睛黑頭髮黃皮膚 | Black eyes, black hair and yellow skin, |
| 永永遠遠是龍的傳人 | We will be descendants of the dragon forever and ever. |

The singer and producer Li Shou-cyuan mentioned that he strongly felt that he had a duty to disseminate Chinese ideology when he was producing the albums ‘Yiciange Chuntian (One Thousand Springs)’ and ‘Chailakehan (The Hero Chailakehan)’ (Lai 1984: 12-13). The prevalence of Chinese themes in campus songs reveals the extent to which the Taiwanese ruling elite had perpetuated close ties with the mainland; to a large extent, the young Taiwanese considered themselves Chinese. As Terry

Bloomfield explains, in performance, singers are essentially enacting a ritual wherein all who are present recognise social codes of belonging, identifying their own sentiments and feelings in the performance; song performance enables people to access this sense of belonging and experience a common resonance (Bloomfield 1993: 17). In addition, through these experiences, the group can formulate and express its taste culture, thereby indicating its position in wider society.

To a large extent, the singers of campus song learnt the rhetoric and symbolism of Chinese nationalism through school education. The use of educational institutions to create national identity has been clearly demonstrated in many different parts of the world including, for example, Turkey. With the founding of the Turkish Republic between the 1920s and 1930s, to create a new 'national music' and eliminate the Ottoman Empire's musical heritage, the authorities closed down Ottoman musical institutions and organisations replaced them with a reformed education system for propagating the music of the republic (Degirmenci 2006: 57-58). In Taiwan, Chinese identity was systematically instilled through the educational sector. Until 1968, it was compulsory for children over 6 to receive 6 years of primary school education; this period was then increased to 9 years in order to improve the educational level of citizens. Following that, the majority of students would precede to a further three years of secondary education (see The History of Ministry of Education website).

Chinese language lessons in primary schools essentially sought to teach students to respect their parents, be kind to their siblings and others, and be an honest person, through the medium of ancient Chinese stories (see Figure 3.6). These lessons also aimed to promote patriotism through portraying heroes such as Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, presenting lyrics of patriotic songs in written form, and

frequently making reference to the national flag (until 1996, all primary schools employed the same teaching resources). The same themes also appeared in music teaching. The songs taught to the students included the national anthem, ‘Song of the National Flag’, ‘Song of the Founding Father’, ‘Song of the Nation’s Founding Day’, and ‘Song of President Chiang’. These songs were categorised as ‘common songs’ which meant they would be sung throughout the entire six years of primary school. Other songs also tended to be concerned with Chinese themes such as ‘Jhonghua (China)’ and ‘Kaige (Song of Victory)’ (see Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.6: A narrative describing an ancient Chinese story with accompanying image, communicating that one can only be successful if one works hard (from a fourth grade Chinese language textbook, 1980: 21-22).



Figure 3.7: Song of victory, using a melody by Handel and featuring a picture of the national flag (from a third grade music textbook, 1980: 53)

In junior and senior schooling, lessons in history and geography and Chinese language continued to use references to Chinese culture to impart information and values. Chinese lessons focused on Chinese literature and the works of Confucius and Mencius, which aim to teach the students to conform to *Lunli*. *Lunli* is an ideology and a guideline for behaviour, essentially decreeing that one should obey orders from authority figures such as one's parents, elder relatives, older siblings, bosses, or other elders. History lessons covered Chinese history from the ancient Xia Dynasty to the Nationalist party's fight against the Chinese Communists and geography lessons covered the location of provinces, weather, crop plantation, and geographic conditions in China. As a result, the students who were born in the 1950s and 1960s all shared the same experiences of writing and learning about things associated with China – no matter what the title of the compositions was (see also *China Times* Sept. 3, 2010). For example, if the title was 'My mother', the students would be expected to conclude as follows: "China is like my mother. However, my mother is suffering and tortured. She is confronted by a tyrant and I must rescue her." Or if the title was 'What I want to be in the future', one would be expected to

conclude: “I will save my compatriots who live in China, and let the national flag of blue, white, and red, fly everywhere, symbolising sky (freedom), sun (equality) and red earth³”. Through these means, the Nationalist government utilised education to control the Taiwanese people in pursuit of political and social advantage. An additional compulsory course for high school students, included in the national exams to enter universities, concerned imparting the teachings of Sun Yat-sen and was entitled ‘The Three Principles of the People’ (Gold 1996: 1098).

The government not only controlled the content of each subject to shape the students’ Chinese identity, but also turned Chinese identity into reality in the students’ daily life. Between the 1950s and 1980s, every school day, from primary school to high school (totaling 12 years), at 8 o’clock in the morning before classes started, there was a ceremony in which the national flag was raised and the national anthem sung; at 4 o’clock in the afternoon, after classes were over, the students had to congregate again for the lowering of the national flag and to sing the Song of the National Flag. In each classroom, there was a photo of the Founding Father Sun Yat-sen on the top of the front wall and a photo of former president Chiang Kai-shek on the back wall. At the start and end of each lesson, the students had to stand up and bow to their teacher as he or she came into the classroom, further instilling the codes of *lunli* through school life.

In 1982, the education system was reformed, leading to a general rise in the educational level of the Taiwanese people and also a more competitive educational environment (Gold 1996: 1097-1098). Students who managed to get into college and university were considered superior both by themselves and by others. Acquisition of this high social ranking was inevitably a powerful incentive for the students to follow

³ The phrase ‘red earth’ denotes a universal willingness among people to sacrifice themselves for kin and country.

what the teachers told them. Concerning the relationship between middle class students and their teachers, Bernstein states: “There is little conflict of values between the teacher and child...There is conformity to authority and an acceptance of the role of the teacher...” (Bernstein 1975: 29-30). He suggests that the middle class⁴ children are taught to follow what authority tells them, so they learn to behave themselves. They tend to be encouraged to communicate and express themselves positively; strong negative words are avoided. On the other hand, working class children are more likely to drop out of schools and not enter the higher educational system. As mentioned in Chapter One, Marsh’s research demonstrated that Taiwan’s education system produces similar results. He found that people from the middle and upper classes in Taiwan were more conservative regarding political or economical issues and were not keen to criticise the authorities (Marsh 2003: 52-54). Furthermore, Marsh’s study showed that the Taiwanese people tend to assess social ranking according to education level. As highly educated members of the middle and upper classes, the singers of campus song would have been deeply indoctrinated – having readily accepted what they were told without questioning or criticising it. Herein is a clear explanation for the abundance of pro-authority Chinese identity markers, the lack of critical content, and the gentle, neutral style of delivery in campus song. It is telling that the singer Li Jian-fu, who recorded ‘The descendants of the dragon’, was the son of the Administrative Deputy Minister of Education and, in fact, this greatly encouraged TV singing programmes to invite campus singers, thereby boosting campus song’s popularity. Li’s father often went to the CTS TV station to attend the TV recording sessions and the general manager of the TV station, Wu Bao-huai, would accompany Li’s father to watch (Ma ed. 1995: 113).

⁴ According to Bernstein’s definition, ‘middle class’ denotes a family in which one parent has attended at least grammar school, and is a trained or skilled worker; ‘working class’ means that both parents are non skilled or semi skilled workers (Bernstein 1975: 24-25).

The campus singers' high social status and level of education also accounts for their aforementioned disdain for Chinese-language popular song. They considered Chinese-language popular song, with its overriding preoccupation with the theme of love, to be a kind of 'Mimijhiyin' – something bad and addictive. As mentioned earlier, many campus songs also addressed the theme of love, similarly in connection with love between a man and woman. However, they discussed this topic in a rather different manner; as intellectuals they favoured poetic, elegant, implicit expression over the direct emotionally expressive formulations of popular song – for example, 'I love you' – which they considered to be of uncultured, low taste. They rarely criticised the musical content of Chinese-language popular song, which in fact closely resembled that of campus song. However, a number of differences are sometimes highlighted: emulating Western light popular song, campus song tended to employ instruments with romantic associations such as strings and woodwind (excluding brass), together with the ubiquitous and deeply symbolic guitar (often low in the mix), creating a light musical texture, and the melody featured little ornamentation and a more syllabic delivery (commonly with one word⁵ for every one or two notes) (see Score 3.2). On the other hand, Chinese-language popular song tended to use every kind of instrument, and melismata and ornaments were used frequently (with one word assigned to several notes). Repeated and stressed rhythmic patterning was also more frequently employed – for example, the rhythm



(see Score 3.3). Differences between campus song and Chinese-language popular song are more discernable in the area of word articulation. The singers of campus song would not change the shape of their mouth during the delivery of a word, following the initial enunciation of the consonant. Meanwhile,

⁵ Every Chinese word is only one syllable.

the singers of Chinese-language popular song often changed the shape of their mouth during the delivery of a word, especially towards the end of a note – achieving a more diverse range of vocal sonorities. It is a commonly held belief among listeners that the campus song style of delivery derives in part from imitating English-language songs, while Chinese-language popular song preserved more from traditional Chinese song styles. However, it is apparent that the treatment of mode in Chinese-language popular song diverges from traditional models in some ways. For example, traditionally, melodies tend to follow linear paths up and down the notes of each mode; for example, Do, Re, Mi, So, La ascending and Do, La, So, Mi, Re descending (see Score 3.4, this one is traditional Chinese music from Southeast of China). Both ‘Fuyun Youzih (A Youth Left Home)’ (a campus song) and ‘Yilian Youmeng (Fantasies Behind the Pearly Curtain)’ (a Chinese-language popular song) do not follow this rule, implying that both song types had moved in the direction of Western music in their melodic patterning. Significantly, ‘Yilian Youmeng’ dates from 1975, before even the emergence of campus song.

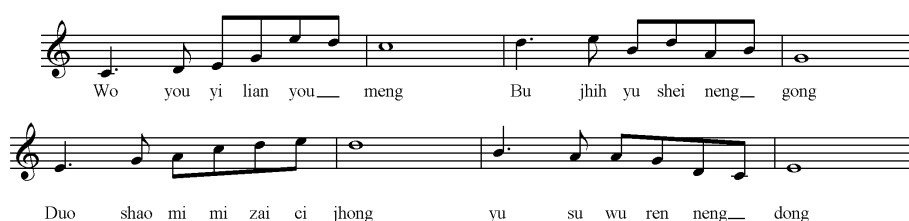
Score 3.2:

Fuyun Youzih

The musical score for 'Fuyun Youzih' is presented in two staves. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Jian fu le yi jih bai bei bao' and 'Ta___ jhe kuai jie de jyue___ bu'. The second staff contains the lyrics 'Bu jih dao she mo shih tian ya' and 'Bu jih dao she mo jiao li'. The melody is written in a single line on a five-line staff, with notes and rests corresponding to the syllables in the pinyin lyrics.

Score 3.3:

Yilian Youmeng



Score 3.4:

Laoliouban



If Chinese-language popular song was tasteless to the campus singers, then what did they think about Taiwanese-language popular song? In newspapers, magazines, interviews, books, and other sources, the singers never discussed Taiwanese-language popular song. Presumably, those songs hardly drew their attention for two reasons. Firstly, Taiwanese-language popular song served consumers at the bottom of society, living in rural places and not well-educated – in other words, at the opposite extreme of the social spectrum. Secondly, as leading advocates of the policy to speak Chinese and descendants of Chinese immigrants, the campus singers would generally not have understood the Taiwanese language, which itself was another marker of low status.

Although campus song only existed for ten years⁶, it was hugely influential, particularly in inspiring the young intellectuals to listen to popular songs in the Chinese language and changing listeners' perceptions about the status of popular

⁶ There is some debate as to how long 'campus song' lasted. The narrow view claims that it dates from the year that Hu De-fu and Yang Xing first held their own concerts up until the song contest 'Jinyun Jiang' was stopped, while in the broader context, campus song lasted until the mid-1990s when the programme 'Dashiecheng' (lit. 'the city of university') launched by TTV, ceased (1983-1994).

singers. The campus song movement disappeared shortly after the final ‘Junyun Jiang’ event in 1984 (it did not hold the contest between 1981 and 1983). As H. explained to me, by this point, listeners had decided that campus song all sounded the same and, in addition, there were many other pop singers and songs that imitated the style of campus song; essentially, there was no longer a clear-cut boundary between campus song and the rest of Chinese-language popular song (personal communication on May 22, 2009). As Rothenbuhler and McCourt point out, when a song is repeatedly played on radio, this will initially boost its popularity but eventually, with further broadcasts, the listening public will become bored (Rothenbuhler & McCourt 1992: 102).

3.7 The changing social status of singers

One of the contributions that campus song brought to Taiwanese society was changing the masses’ views about singers. Until the mid-1980s, parents from middle class or rich families would definitely not agree to their children singing in public or working in any other capacity within the popular music business as accompanists, managers, songwriters, or producers. Singers had very low social status, inherited from the accepted norms of Chinese tradition; while some were self-employed, others were treated as the possessions of the ruling elite, to be given away or exchanged by their masters. This perspective did not dissolve even after Taiwan became a colony of Japan. However, the dissemination of popular songs by radio stations made people realise that one could become wealthy and famous from singing, which changed listeners’ attitudes – although the singers’ status remained low. Surprisingly, there appears to be very little scholarship examining the low status of singers in Taiwan or elsewhere in the Far East (but see Hwang 2006: 34-47),

although there is a certain amount of discussion relating to the connection between female singers and prostitution (discussed in Chapter Five).

An example of public discrimination against singers was Chun-chun, the first star of popular song, who emerged in the 1930s. She fell in love with a man who was a student of Taiwan University and they intended to marry. It was not easy for Taiwanese students to enter this institution during the Japanese colonial period, which gives some indication of his high social status. Not surprisingly, the man's family refused the marriage on account of her being a '*sizih*' (a derogatory term for a public performer). The relationship was broken and she finally married a Japanese man and, following a short and miserable marriage, she died at the age of 29 (Jheng & Guo 2002: 48-51). Another famous singer of Chinese-language popular song, Cui Ai-lian experienced discrimination in the 1970s when she started a relationship with Meng Li-jhong, the son of a country magistrate's secretary. Even after his parents met her and realised that they had made incorrect assumptions about her character, the marriage did not go ahead (TTV Weekly 1978 (830): 37). L, a female singer (preferring to remain unnamed), recounted to me that her husband had never respected her and punished her on account of her occupation. In the 1960s, when they were first married, he would often say "I am not blaming you: I am teaching you". Eventually she fought back, saying: "Why should I need you to teach me? I am earning much more money than you." In the 1970s, Sia Ling-ling met her boyfriend Huang Shu-hua when they studied at the same college. Their wish to marry was rejected by Huang's mother, a conservative woman who regarded such movie stars as '*sizih*'. Huang left her and relocated to the United States to study but, some years later, the relationship was reignited and he periodically met her whenever he came back to Taiwan. Unfortunately, Huang's mother heard about this and enforced the

separation, taking Huang back to the United States for good (TV Guide 1978 133: 44-47). As a final example of discrimination against singers, the singer Ji Lu-sia explained in a TV interview that her use of a stage name instead of her real name was entirely due to the fact that she did not want her friends, neighbours, and relatives to know that she had become a singer (FTV, History of Taiwan accessed in March 2011).

There were fewer male singers than female, largely because male offspring represented the public face of the family and were charged with achieving status and fortune for successive generations. As a youngster living in Korea, the singer songwriter Liou Jia-chang had always been keen on playing the household piano but his parents only allowed his sisters to play the instrument. However, Liou still managed to learn sufficiently to record his own songs in English. It was allegedly to obstruct Liou's music-making activities that his father then sent him away to Taiwan to study (FTV, History of Taiwan accessed in Jan. 2010). In 1928, at the age of 12, the singer Wu Jin-huai went to Japan in order to study music, without informing his family. When he finally managed to begin studying music, in highschool, it caused friction between him and his older brother, who was a medical student in Japan and who was encouraging his younger brother to pursue the same profession (Culture Affairs Bureau of Tainan City Government: Culture Centre 1993: 15-21). Chen Siou-nan pointed out to me that, while some people with careers in music had had to rebel against the strictures of their parents, a substantial proportion had entered the business out of necessity without much parental opposition because their families were not rich and they needed the money (personal communication on May 18, 2009). All of these examples clearly show that singers occupied a very low position in the Taiwanese social hierarchy.

And yet, even though singers had such low status, at the same time, some enjoyed great fame and fortune. This had especially been the case since advent of competitions, initiated by radio stations such as Jheng rih-cing, in the 1950s. For example, Fong Fei-fei explained that young female listeners often wrote fan letters to her, discussing their families, schools, and troubles – as though they were personal friends of the singer (Show TV Weekly 1978 (066): 175-178). In 1968 the major radio stations collaborated to undertake a nationwide poll to establish the top five male and female singers and identify the ‘king’ and ‘queen’ of popular song; Ye Citian and You Ya – both singers of Taiwanese-language popular song – were the winners of these prestigious titles (Lin 2002: 82). Following the shift in popularity from Taiwanese language to Chinese, in 1978, the magazine *Show TV Weekly* conducted a 12-week poll to discover the best singer, most successful album, most popular single, and most promising newcomer. Indicating that the singers had become idols, the magazine was inundated with postcards (Show TV Weekly 1978 (066): 166-173). Most of these singers were not well educated and, in spite of their fame, were still low status.

Following the advent of campus song singing competitions in 1977, such as Li Cheng-fu, Jheng Yi and Tsai Cin, and the subsequent continuation of singing careers by respectable former winners in the early 1980s, attitudes towards the singing profession changed dramatically. It was at this point that intellectuals from prosperous high status backgrounds became prominent figures in the business and, accordingly, it became possible for singers in general to become role models, no longer regarded as occupying a low position in Taiwanese society. A good example of a university-educated pop star is Tsai Yi-lin, who is currently hugely popular in Taiwan. She has a bachelor degree in English. Opposition from parents has become

less severe as a result. For example, Jhou Jie-lun (his name in English known as Jay Chou), another contemporary star, was supported in his ambitions by his mother, a teacher of lower middle-class status. These two examples indicate that, in the eyes of many, it is no longer shameful to be a singer; perhaps, the amount of money you make commands more respect than your job title in contemporary Taiwan. At the same time however, other professions have continued to be viewed as preferable to that of singer. In June 2010, Lee Chen-si, the Chancellor of National Taiwan University, expressed his disappointment about current career choices during a graduation ceremony, drawing attention to the fact that some students were choosing to pursue jobs in mass media. He stated that he expected much better from the graduates of Taiwan's premier university, saying that they could surely reach a higher level of human existence than that of a singer, actor, or show girl (*Apple Daily* June 6, 2010). The debate highlights different opinions regarding the responsibilities of intellectuals, indicating profound differences in attitudes and values between older and younger generations in Taiwanese society, which is a source of conflict.

Conclusion

Although it eventually came to be a commercial product, 'campus song' originated in the context of an ideological student movement of the 1970s to mid-1980s. Headed by Yang Xing and Li Shuang-ze and thereafter by Li's follower Yang Zu-jyun, a group of privileged students self-mobilised to encourage awareness of Chinese identity and express this identity through what they called 'singing songs in our own language'. Ironically, the students turned to American models in their search for a medium through which to express their Chinese identities – and particularly to the songs of Bob Dylan. Dylan was an obvious choice: his recordings were readily

available as either imports or copies, they featured relatively simple melodies and harmonies, and, crucially, they projected a suitable image – that of the self-reliant individual dedicated to the expression of a socio-ideological message. Several aspects of his performance style could be adopted with relative ease, and the students eagerly did so in an endeavour to transform themselves from being hobby-musicians into ‘activists’. Hence, they stood on stage as individuals, wearing relatively informal clothing (in comparison with the stage-wear of professional popular singers), and accompanying themselves on guitar as they sang. Much of the imagery and structural devices they employed in their lyrics also seemed highly reminiscent of early Bob Dylan. By adopting these traits, the privileged student singers were also able to single themselves out as being significantly different, both musically and socially, from the lower-status professional performers. Even after the Xinge record company recognised the market for the student singers and launched the ‘Jinyun Jiang’ singing contest, giving birth to ‘campus song’ and granting winners fame and fortune, the division between ‘us’ (educated Chinese) and ‘them’ (Taiwanese) was preserved and demarcated through subtle variations in clothing, style, and song content.

Although the singers of campus song believed that they, like Dylan, were projecting social-ideological messages through their music, it is clear that they were representing an entirely different faction of society. While Dylan was associated with anti-authoritarian social movements as a ‘man of the people’ who spoke out for the oppressed, the singers of campus song were almost invariably articulating messages conforming to authoritarian values and policy; in stark contrast, they ‘spoke out for the privileged’. Only Yang Zu-jyun actually sought to further social reform for the less fortunate sectors of society, using her music as a vital tool, so that one could therefore say that she alone stands out as what you could call a ‘Taiwanese Bob

Dylan', to the extent that she also adopted his values. Why, then, didn't others follow suit and choose to emulate Dylan's message as well as his style, similarly seeking to represent the unrepresented? Firstly, many of the students would not have understood the lyrics of Bob Dylan's more political songs, either linguistically or culturally, having only restricted exposure to the social context in America. Secondly, it was dangerous to contest authority; indeed, Yang Zu-jyun was forced to leave the country on account of her activities. Thirdly, when campus song came under the control of the music industry, the singers lost their already limited autonomy and the appearance of 'Taiwanese Bob Dylans' became even more unlikely. As Pierre Bourdieu points out, there is a negative relation between power, profit and autonomy (Bourdieu 1993: 44-45):

The literary or artistic field is at all times the site of a struggle between the two principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically (e.g. 'bourgeois art') and the autonomous principle (e.g. 'art for art's sake'), which those of its advocates who are least endowed with specific capital tend to identify with degree [sic] of independence from the economy, seeing temporal failure as a sign of election and success as a sign of compromise (ibid: 40).

Bourdieu's theory also points towards the most crucial reason for the campus singers' absolute conformity to authority: the students were close to the centre of power, both socially and ideologically, with Li Cheng-fu, one of the leading singers in the movement, even being the son of the Administrative Deputy Minister of Education. The campus singers had been exposed to an indoctrinating education system for over 16 years of their lives; they would have been unaware of the misfortunes of others and they enjoyed their power.

Chapter 4: The impact of social change on Taiwanese-language popular song

In the expansion of the great Western empires, profit and hope of further profit were obviously tremendously important, ... But there is more than that to imperialism and colonialism. There was a commitment to them over and above profit, a commitment in constant circulation and recirculation, which, on the one hand, allowed decent men and women to accept the notion that distant territories and their native peoples should be subjugated, and on the other, replenished metropolitan energies so that these decent people could think of the imperium as a protracted, almost metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior, or less advanced peoples (Said 1993: 9-10).

In a TV drama series called 'Jia (Home)', directed by Li Yue-fong and broadcast on the Public Television Service Foundation in 2003, the narrative tells of how Taiwanese people were forced to adapt to a new social order under the rule of the new regime – the Chinese Nationalist Party (the Kuomintang) – and how tension and conflict grew out of problems of linguistic and cultural communication between the Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants who had followed the Nationalist Party to Taiwan during the late 1940s. One scene in the drama that particularly attracted my interest concerned the role of Syu Siang-mei, who was one of the Chinese immigrants who came to Taiwan with her children and mother-in-law, and whose husband had been a pilot who had served in the air force. When her husband had died in the Second World War, Syu Siang-mei's mother-in-law refused to bury her son's ashes and kept them instead in the house for many years. What surprised me about this is that it is unusual for Chinese people not to bury remains, because it is a deeply embedded traditional understanding in Chinese culture that one must, according the

proverb, 'bury a dead person to allow them to rest in peace'. Why did Syu's mother-in-law, a traditional Chinese woman who had grown up and lived in China, make such a decision that involved violating tradition? The reason for her to do so was simply that she did not consider Taiwan to be her home, and she wished to take her son's remains back to mainland China in the future. How could it be that Taiwan had not become a new home for her, even after several decades? The Taiwanese people themselves had originated from China three to four hundred years ago, so if they could settle down in Taiwan, why could she not do so? This drama reflected how most Chinese immigrants and the Nationalist Party viewed Taiwan. Taiwan could never be their home; they strongly believed that they were staying on the island on a temporary basis, treating it as a base from which the recovery of mainland China could one day take place. In this chapter, I argue that the Chinese Nationalists had a colonial attitude towards Taiwan and that this attitude persisted for the long term, seriously affecting the development of Taiwanese society during the period from the 1950s up to the mid-1980s. The case that I make focuses on the reflection of these tensions and conflicts within the medium of Taiwanese-language popular song during this period of rapid and disruptive social change. I seek to show how feelings of separation and longing, loss, uncertainty and insecurity, left their mark in the genres of Taiwanese-language songs and how the song medium also represented people's struggles to forge new identities. This was a period in which people experienced conflict between tradition and modernity, with many also finding themselves in newly urbanised contexts having migrated from the countryside.

4.1 Taiwan: a colonised society

Fundamental regime changes took place during a short period of only fifty years –

beginning with the onset of Japanese rule in 1895, which replaced Chinese Qing Dynasty rule, and culminating with the Nationalist immigration in 1945, marking the beginning of the Kuomintang period. People had to adapt to profound changes in political, economic, and cultural environment. On both of these occasions, they were faced with having to adjust to entirely different living situations, which led to struggles and conflict in everyday life: the need to know new regulations, to access new systems of finance and education, to learn unfamiliar language, to adopt new cultural forms, and so forth. From 1945, given Taiwan's turbulent history of being colonised by outsiders, it was inevitable that problems of identity would arise: the Taiwanese people were thoroughly confused about where they belonged, to whom their allegiances were, and who they were themselves. In addition, the reformed economic conditions that followed the political change led to the radical reconstruction of social structure. The growth of the economy resulted in such a need for increased labour force that people flooded from the countryside to the cities, leading to rapid urbanisation. A new social order was formed thereafter. We need to ask what kind of impact these social, political and economic pressures had on the Taiwanese people and how they responded to them.

Edward Said has theorised extensively about the representation of dominated cultures (especially the Middle East and India) by European colonisers (such as the British and French), and the construction of stereotypes through processes of 'orientalism' – writing particularly in reference to the period from the mid-nineteenth century up to the mid-twentieth century. Portraits of the 'orient' are to be seen in the light of what the colonisers thought, what they imagined, and what they wanted to gain from colonisation; these versions of reality often bear little relationship to the perceptions and representations fostered by the colonised people themselves, who

remain mute. Therefore, orientalism relates to political, economic, and cultural factors and particularly the hegemonic forces imposed by colonisers for the purposes of imperial expansion (Said 2003: 3-6). Said's theory of orientalism may not apply so well to the case of mainland China's relationship with Taiwan, but to some extent it can explain the complex dynamics between the two. Taiwan was ruled by Japan for fifty years, right up until the arrival of the Nationalist Party and its followers came; its culture was diverse and contained many minority groups apart from the Minna majority, including the Hakka, the aborigines, and the Japanese. Taiwan became segregated from mainland China over the period of Japanese colonial rule and so, increasingly, the perceptions of Taiwanese people about the Chinese (and vice versa), depended upon imagination, general media representation, oral transmission, and propaganda. This meant that mutual understanding and communication between the Taiwanese and the Chinese inevitably became problematic, on account of unrealistic conceptions. Therefore, when the Chinese immigrants arrived en masse, a degree of conflict was inevitable and the new rule adopted the policy of eliminating this conflict through the elimination of all cultural differences. Homi Bhabha addresses the strategies for reducing conflict in the following terms:

[The coloniser's]... predominant strategic function is the creation of a space for a 'subject peoples' through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited. [The coloniser]... seeks authorization for its strategies by the production of knowledges of colonizer and colonized which are stereotypical but antithetically evaluated (Bhabha 1994: 70).

He goes further:

There is both a structural and functional justification for reading the racial stereotype of

colonial discourse in terms of fetishism.... The stereotype, then, as the primary point of subjectification in colonial discourse, for both colonizer and colonized, is the scene of a similar fantasy and defence – the desire for an originality which is again threatened by the differences of race, colour and culture....The stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality (ibid: 74-75).

In other words, colonial culture presents itself to its people and to the rest of the world as already having been approved by the government. Colonised peoples are not normally aware of the fact that the culture they are a part of is deeply influenced and controlled by political and economic hegemony. In this case, much as in the previous period of Japanese colonisation, the goal of the colonial power was explicitly the destruction of Taiwanese culture, politics and economy for the economic benefit of the colonial power, initially for the purposes of raising capital to support the war with the Chinese Communist Party and its authority. The result was a more unequal distribution of wealth and social class and a more clearly delineated boundary between dominated and dominating (Giddens 1986: 144). It is true that, as I mentioned earlier, Chinese history, language, geography, philosophy, and ideology had been disseminated to every corner of Taiwan. But it was more than that. The idea of the superiority of the Chinese immigrants on the one hand and the inferiority of the Taiwanese people on the other was implanted in Taiwanese society. Political coercion rendered the Taiwanese people mute through much the same processes as those discussed by Said, Bhabha and Giddens.

Study of popular song is one of several avenues that have not much been embraced by scholarship beyond Masters level as a useful means for understanding how Taiwanese society has been manipulated by the Nationalist government. Since popular song is a cultural form, and because it very much occupies the social arena, issues of identity, of processes of change in the social structure, and especially shifts

in social status, can be uncovered from the song texts and from features of their musical setting. Jason Toynbee observes that particular social groups can be identified or recognised through the types of popular music they listen to, and that musicians are a reflection of such groups because they are also part of them, and they have a duty to unveil pervading values and to “stay in touch with the root” (Toynbee 2003: x). The ethnomusicologist Alan Merriam outlines ten social functions of songs, such as communication, symbolic representation, physical response, emotional release, the expression of values, and so on. He also illustrates that the history of particular events, in certain cultures, can be understood through song texts (Merriam 1964). I suggest that Taiwanese-language popular song can be used as a window to explore the changes brought about by industrialisation.

Taiwanese-language popular song reveals significant social changes in the period from the Second World War, through the four decades up until the 1980s. Although strict censorship and restrictive broadcasting policies were imposed on lyrics during this period, the songs can still tell us something about the real life of the Taiwanese people. To a certain extent, there was still some space for writers of Taiwanese-language popular song to describe real predicaments, simply because government officials did not understand the Taiwanese language. The texts of Taiwanese-language popular songs mainly concentrated on daily life, including peasant life in the villages, the thinly veiled exploitation of women in the cities, and the feelings of homesickness and failure of the young men who had left the villages with dreams of success in the city.

In this chapter, I will outline how economic growth affected social change and led to the emergence of a new kind of social stratification, and I shall attempt, through analysing the content of Taiwanese-language popular songs, to identify how

this economic growth served to disrupt the social structure. Traditional Chinese customs and values (some of which were common to those already existing in Taiwan) did not become extinct when the modern industrialised society was being born and, instead, tension arose between the new and the old. Accordingly, one of the most recurrent themes in song texts is that of leaving home to work in urban cities, revealing that the experience of industrialisation was of widespread significance. Another pervasive theme is that of sadness, as is widely acknowledged by most people. Did economic growth and urbanisation not benefit the vast majority of the Taiwanese people? Through an examination of Taiwanese-language popular song we can see that, between the 1950s and the 1980s, Taiwanese society remained characterised by the power relations of coloniser/colonised, ‘superior’/‘inferior’, and dominating/dominated. When the Taiwanese people wanted to benefit from economic growth and to elevate themselves to a higher social status, they could only do so when the authorities permitted it. As Bourdieu suggests:

Social problems are social relations: they emerge from confrontation between two groups, two systems of antagonistic interests and theses ... The dominated producers for their part in order to gain a foothold in the market have to resort to subversive strategies which will eventually bring them the disavowed profits only if they succeed in overturning the hierarchy of the field without disturbing the principles on which the field is based (Bourdieu 1993: 83).

4.2 Industrialisation and internal migration

As I have mentioned above, the vast majority of Taiwanese-language popular songs express feelings of being away from home, and having problems in everyday life, all of which are related in some way to changing industrial and economic policies. Most studies concerned with Taiwanese-language popular song – exclusively written at

MA level (for example Huang 2000) – tend to outline how industrialisation resulted in decreased social status for the Taiwanese people. These studies examine the context of Taiwanese-language popular song by contrasting social environments and governmental policies between the 1950s and the 1980s, and they address the question as to why Taiwanese farmers had to move from rural areas to cities or city outskirts. The studies, however, do not discuss why these Taiwanese migrants remained of low social status when there were plenty of opportunities to improve their material well-being, and also why representations of China were expressed within Taiwanese-language popular song. These are the areas that I will focus on in this chapter. As Said has put it: “We live of course in a world not only of commodities but also of representation, representations – their production, circulation, history, and interpretation – are the very element of culture” (Said 1993: 66).

The wave of internal migration began in the post war period. Large numbers of migrants, mainly farmers, fishermen, and women who were non-skilled or semi-skilled, not well-educated, and still young, left home for the large towns and cities in search of work opportunities, higher social status, better living standards and income. Writing about migration in general, Peter A. Morrison suggests;

Migration had also served, and appears to continue to serve, as an important vehicle of social mobility in a society that is stratified predominantly along lines of achievement rather than of ascription. Immigrants and, more recently, migrants from rural areas have congregated in cities, where access to the training needed for high-wage jobs in commerce and industry afforded them opportunities to improve their material well-being (Morrison 1977: 62).

Morrison observes that, in many cases, a large proportion of migrants do not benefit from their migration, but that semi-trained, trained or well-educated workers may be able to compete in the new labour market and obtain good job opportunities and higher wages (ibid: 65). Do Morrison's observations apply to the situation of the Taiwanese migrants? This is the question that interests me here, but first I must explore the motivations of the Taiwanese migrants themselves.

'Mother', 'hometown', and 'migration for employment' are particularly prevalent themes in Taiwanese-language popular songs, as they are in commentaries on migration elsewhere – for example, among migrant workers in Chicago (Bogue 1977: 178). The song 'Mama Cingni Yebaojhong (Please Take Care of Yourself, Mother)', with a text by Wun Sia (who also recorded the song in 1958), embraces all three of these themes, clearly expressing the feelings of young migrants with high expectations and an enduring desire to return home with honour (see Example 4.1).

Example 4.1: Mama Cingni Yebaojhong (Please Take Care of Yourself, Mother)

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 若想起故鄉目屎就流落來 | I burst into tears when I think of my hometown, |
| 免掛意請您放心我的阿母 | Mother, do not worry about me. |
| 雖然是孤單一個 | Although I am alone, |
| 雖然是孤單一個 | Although I am alone, |
| 我也來到他鄉的這個省都 | I have come to this big city, |
| 不過我是真勇健的 | But I am very healthy. |
| 媽媽請妳也保重 | Please take care of yourself, mother. |
| 月光暝想要寫批來寄予您 | I want to write a letter to you on a moonlight night, |
| 希望會平安過日我的阿母 | Hope you are well, my mother. |
| 想彼時強強離開 | I think about the time I firmly decided to leave home. |
| 想彼時強強離開 | I think about the time I firmly decided to leave home. |
| 我也來到他鄉的這個省都 | I have come to this big city, |
| 不過我是真打拼的 | But I work very hard. |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 媽媽請您也保重的 | Please take care of yourself, mother. |
| 寒冷的冬天夏天的三更暝 | In the cold winter and in the middle of the night in the summer, |
| 請保重不通傷風我的阿母 | Please take care of yourself and do not catch a cold. |
| 期待著早日相會 | I look forward to seeing you soon. |
| 期待著早日相會 | I look forward to seeing you soon. |
| 我也來到他鄉的這個省都 | I have come to this big city, |
| 不過我是會返去的 | But I will go home. |
| 媽媽請您也保重 | Please take care of yourself, mother. |

Wilfred Mellers succinctly describes what is represented by ‘home’ and ‘mother’, in his analysis of the Beatles song ‘It won’t be long’: “The words concern coming home, which means security, mum, as well as the girl; and the power of the song is generated from the tension between awayness and togetherness” (Mellers 1976: 39). In traditional Taiwanese society, ‘home’ and ‘mother’ had similarly interrelated connotations: mothers were the ones who always stayed at home looking after children, working on farms, feeding domestic fowls, and doing other house work.

Did the young migrants achieve their goals in the cities? Songs such as ‘Huanghunde Gusiang (The Hometown at the Sunset)’ (Example 4.2) suggest that many did not, in line with Morrison’s observations (Morrison 1977: 65). This song, which was also by Wun Sia (in 1968), is typical in its vivid description of loneliness, poverty, homesickness, and misery, making it clear just how difficult it was for these youngsters to migrate to big cities, leave their families and relatives behind.

Example 4.2: Huanghunde Gusiang (The Hometown at the Sunset)

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 叫著我叫著我 | It calls me, it calls me, |
| 黃昏的故鄉不時在叫 | My hometown at the sunset always calls me |
| 叫我這個苦命的身軀 | calls me this pitiful, vagrant person |

| | |
|------------|--|
| 流浪的人無家的渡鳥 | like a migrating bird without a home. |
| 孤單若來到異鄉 | I came to a strange town, |
| 有時也會念家鄉 | I miss my hometown sometimes. |
| 今日又是聽見著喂 | Today, I hear it again, |
| 親像在叫我的 | It seems to be calling me. |
| | |
| 叫著我叫著我 | It calls me, it calls me, |
| 黃昏的故鄉不時在叫我 | My hometown at the sunset always calls me. |
| 懷念彼時故鄉的形影 | I miss my hometown |
| 月光不時照著的山河 | the mountain and the river in the moonlight |
| 彼邊山彼條溪水 | the mountain, the river |
| 永遠包著咱的夢 | always contain my dream. |
| 今夜又是來望著它喂 | Tonight I dreamed it again, |
| 親像在等我的 | It seems waiting for me. |
| | |
| 叫著我叫著我 | It calls me, it calls me, |
| 黃昏的故鄉不時在叫我 | My hometown at the sunset always calls me |
| 含著悲哀也有帶目屎 | with sadness and tears |
| 盼我返去的聲叫無停 | the sound keeps calling me to go back. |
| 白雲啊你若要去 | White cloud, if you are going there, |
| 請你帶著我心情 | Please take a message of my feeling with you |
| 送去給她我的阿母喂 | to her, my mother. |
| 不可來忘記的 | Do not forget to tell her. |

The creator of the two preceding songs, Wun Sia, was one of the most popular writers and singers of Taiwanese-language popular song from the 1950s to the 1970s. In his preamble to performing ‘Huanghunde Gusiang (The Hometown at the Sunset)’ in ‘The banned songs concert’, held in Taipei in November 2007 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the abolishment of martial law, he explained how he had had personal experience of migration and that this had inspired his creativity:

... I have sung two thousand Taiwanese-language popular songs. Every song I sung had a story. I wrote the song ‘Huanghunde Gusiang (The Hometown at the Sunset)’ because I left home for Japan to study music when I was fourteen. At that time, all I thought about was my hometown and my mother. I realised that it was not only me who was far away from home, but also others, including soldiers (An excerpt from Youtube website, accessed in March 2009; my trans., see also Guo 2005: 113).

4.3 The destruction of the traditional Taiwanese family

Up until the 1960s, the majority of Taiwanese families were ‘joint families’ in the sense in which this term is used by Lively: grandparents, parents, and children living together under the same roof (Lively 1990: 238). The mother symbolised the intimate relationship between the members of the family, her main role being to keep the members of the family together and to pass traditions on to next generation (see Gold 1996: 1092-1097, Gallin, B. & Gallin, R. 1982: 205-246). From the 1960s, however, industrialisation and the departure of young family members meant that the structure of most Taiwanese families began to break down. Those who had departed established their own smaller nuclear families within the new, modern, urbanised society, while those who remained behind continued the old, traditional, rural, agricultural life. Stark contrasts and tensions appeared between old and new, poor and rich, agricultural and industrial, and traditional and modern ways of life. These contrasts are highlighted in many songs including ‘Gunyude Yuanwang (A Poor Girl’s Wish)’ sung by Cheng Fen-lang in 1960, which begins with the lines:

請借問播田的田莊阿伯啊 Excuse me, uncle¹ farmer

人塊講繁華都市台北對叨去 Can you show me the way to the prosperous city of Taipei that
people talk about so much?

¹ In Taiwan, the word ‘uncle’ is used as a polite way to refer to older men, as it is elsewhere in Asia, including Japan and Korea.

On the one hand an old man is farming, on the other a poor young girl, who has no one to take care of her, is seeking the way to the modern, imagined metropolis that she has heard so much about. Before deciding to move to the city or to remain in the country, youngsters would have had to estimate both the negative and the positive outcomes that migration might bring about. Migration can potentially yield a better job, higher salary, and improved living standards and well-being, but there is also the potential for failure in all respects; on the other hand, staying at home ensures greater security, fewer uncertainties about housing, food, and employment, and no need to have dealings with strangers (Bogue 1977: 169). As in other cases of migration elsewhere (see, for example, Cebula 1979: 3), the Taiwanese migrants were particularly motivated by the prospect of economic gain and their destinations were informed by this desire.

As the song ‘Gunyude Yuanwang (A Poor Girl’s Wish)’ suggests, Taipei, the biggest city in Taiwan, has always been the focal location for the migrant workers’ dreams of work and fun. For rural inhabitants, a trip to visit Taipei was an especially exciting experience, as the song ‘Siangjhao You Taipei (Let’s Go to Taipei Together)’ from 1972 describes (see Example 4.3).

Example 4.3: Siangjhao You Taipei (Let’s Go to Taipei Together)

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 初次要去繁華臺北市 | It’s the first time for me to go to Taipei, |
| 實在真真正正有趣味 | It is really so exciting. |
| 火車到臺北 | The train has arrived at Taipei, |
| 火車到臺北 | The train has arrived at Taipei. |
| 人山人海滿滿是 | There are mountains and seas of people, |
| 男男女女 | Men and women. |
| 熱鬧嚟底通可比 | It is so busy that no other places can compare to it. |

Another reason for the mass migration to the cities was the government's economic policies. From the early 1950s, the Nationalist government's political and economic policies were explicitly related to promoting industrialisation, with the intention of transforming Taiwanese society from low income-generating agriculture to competitive industrial production. The plan was to bring about a shift from 'import substitution' to 'export orientation', which began to be achieved in the 1960s (Ministry of Economic Affairs ed. 2008: 52-53). The Nationalist government enforced nationwide economic development plans eleven times between 1952 and 1996, the first of which lasted from 1953 until 1956 and concentrated on developing an effective communications infrastructure, with extensive electricity network and improved transportation facilities. A crucial initial step was to repair the power stations that had originally been built by the Japanese colonisers, but which had been damaged by bombing during the Second World War. The promotion of industries was another early priority, particularly textile engineering. Textile factories were developed with a view to increasing Taiwan's level of domestic production and, in recognition of the textile industry's potential benefits, the Nationalist government even relocated a number of textile factories from Chinese mainland to the island during the late 1940s (Chen 2000: 520-523).

From early on, the course of Taiwan's economic development was heavily influenced by the United States. In accordance with the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) was set up and ratified by the presidents of both countries, particularly with the aim of improving agricultural practices. The JCRR launched a succession of agricultural plans in Taiwan over the period of American Aid from 1950 to 1965 (Encyclopedia of Taiwan website accessed in Oct. 2010), instigating radical land reforms and

introducing new farming technology. Improved machinery boosted crop yield while reducing the need for large labour forces. At the same time, many of the biggest land owners were forced to release their land by means of compulsory purchase orders (Chen 1995: 80-81). The Industrial Development and Investment Centre, which was established in 1959 with the aim of helping foreign investors deal with documentary procedures and locating suitable sites for setting up industry, then used this re-acquisitioned land as industrial development sites. These first of these sites, which were referred to as 'Export Processing Zones', was founded in Kaohsiung in the South of Taiwan in 1966 (Ministry of Economic Affairs Export Processing Zone website, accessed in June 2010). These zones were vitally important for relieving the pressure of rapid population increase, addressing the problem of unemployment among agrarian labourers, and encouraging foreign investment – topics that are addressed in detail in Chapter Five.

The industrial sector required vast work forces of low- or semi-skilled workers. Large portions of the working class populace were able to take advantage of this, especially since transportation and other infrastructures were continuously being improved, serving to increase inter-mobility (Kundu & Gupta 1996: 3392). Most of these workers had received at least primary school or secondary school education and, as time passed, their average level of education increased significantly owing to extensive education reform. The percentage of students who had received six years of primary school rose from 84% in 1952 to 95% in 1964, and for secondary school from 34% in 1952 to 80% in 1970 to 97% in 1986 (Kaba 2003: 12). In parallel with these developments, employers increasingly demanded basic levels of literacy and numeracy.

The number of jobs in the industrial sector increased sevenfold from 1952 to

1986, with an increase of 6% per year on average, and these employment opportunities served to absorb those agricultural workers who could not find farming jobs in agrarian society. Evidence shows that Taiwan's economic growth still depended on agricultural productivity until the mid-1960s, but from that time onwards, agricultural productivity declined, leaving industry as the main source of economic growth (Truong 1999: 137). In 1964, the size of the agricultural workforce was still increasing – specifically by 0.8% in that year, up to 1,810,000 people – but, thereafter, it decreased year after year and by 1979, only 1,380,000 people were working in the agricultural sector. After 1980, the decrease continued but at a slower rate – approximately 0.7% each year (Kaba 2003: 11). As Samuel Ho points out, between the arrival of the Nationalist Party and 1987, the number of people working in agriculture, fishery, and forestry sectors had dropped from approximately a third of the total workforce to 7%. At the same time, the number of people out of work decreased from 50% to just 20% (Ho 1987: 228-229). It was this mass industrialisation of Taiwan that inevitably led to large-scale migration of farm-workers to urban areas, transforming small urban outposts into large cities serving as socio-economic centres (Chen 1995: 70).

As the previous discussion suggests, economic development in Taiwan before the 1980s can be said to have taken place in three stages: in the 1940s, developing industry through relying on the support of agriculture; in the 1950s and 1960s, developing light industries such as textiles; and, in the 1970s, concentrating on heavy industry, including oil (Ministry of Economic Affairs ed. 2008: 130-140). By the 1970s, Taiwan had primarily become an industrial society and finding a job in the industrial sector was a prime objective for many people. Profound changes in lifestyle, occupation, family structure, social networking, and modes of production

were the causes of multiple difficulties for poorer workers, and some of these difficulties are highlighted in songs from the period such as ‘Lioulang Chao Toulou (I am Trying to Find a Job)’ from 1964 (see Example 4.4). This song tells of a young man who goes to Taipei from the countryside in search of work. He is evidently prepared to do any job, just so long as it is in the industrial sector.

Example 4.4: Lioulang Chao Toulou (I am Trying to Find a Job)

...
 不論是做工 No matter if it is being a worker
 也是清便所 Or a toilet cleaner.
 ...
 不論是拖車 No matter if it is pushing cars
 也是做苦勞 Or being a labourer.

Another song that illustrates the predicament faced by unemployed ex-farmers is ‘Chuwai Jhao Toulou (I Left Home to Find a Job)’ (see Example 4.5). This song, performed by Ye Ci-tian, dates from 1968.

Example 4.5: Chuwai Jhao Toulou (I Left Home to Find a Job)

離開阮故鄉 I left my hometown
 出外找頭路 For other cities, in search of jobs.
 做著男子漢 I am a man,
 何必心苦痛 So I am not upset.
 因為阮嘸願做著七逃人 I don’t want to hang around and become a gangster,
 才著來離開 So I have to leave.
 ...
 事業若得意 If I succeed some day,
 一定倒返去 I will definitely go back.
 ...
 希望有賺錢 I hope I will make money,
 成功返鄉里 And go home with honour, some day.

In his biography (Lin 2002), Ye Ci-tian recalls how he went to Taipei in order to pursue a singing career, leaving his hometown of Shueinioucuo in Chiayi County. He reminisces about the many other individuals who were similarly from poor agrarian families in South Taiwan and who travelled North in search of factory work: peasants, labourers, *changgong* (long-term servants), and young teenagers just out of school. Many became gangsters or prostitutes, some managed to join the labour market, and a small proportion even managed to establish their own small businesses. The Taiwanese migrants always returned home for village festivals, *Miaohuei* (birthday celebrations for gods), or traditional Chinese holidays such as Chinese New Year and the mid-autumn Moon Festival. Ye recounts how he got into conversation with one of these home-coming migrants, returning for the Moon Festival, and expressed his ambitions to become a singer. The fashionably-dressed migrant, who was named Huang Chun-tian, responded: “Sian-siou [Ye Ci-tian’s real name], you love singing. So would you like to go to Taipei with me? Perhaps you will find some opportunities there.” Ye replied, “Yes, I’ve heard that all the singers live in Taipei.” Huang said: “That’s right. The record companies are all in Taipei” (Lin 2002: 28).

So, after the mid-autumn Moon festival, Ye Ci-tian, at the age of just 13 and with 30 NTD (around 60 pence) in his pocket for travel and a few days expenses, went to Taipei. He had been led to believe by friends that the place was full of interesting things and opportunities for good times and easy earning. He dreamed that he might succeed in becoming a singer, or at the very least would avoid becoming a ‘*zuoheishoude*’ (‘dirty hands’: slang for a mechanic). Huang Chun-tian’s appearance suggested that his aspirations might be realisable; Huang was wearing a suit and sunglasses, and had a fashionable hair style just like a singer. However,

when Ye saw the place that he was going to stay, he was shocked and disappointed. It was a '*fanzihjian*' (slang for a rough dormitory), shared by roughly 20 poor migrants to a room. Like Ye himself, most of these migrants had come from South Taiwan and were starting off at the bottom of the social ladder, selling sundry goods or doing odd jobs. After his arrival, he spent the first few days assisting adults in selling fruit, vegetables, fish and meat in Jhongsing market. He had very little to eat for more than one week but was lucky enough to find a more lucrative job as a pharmacy assistant (ibid: 31-32). But after two or three months of struggling in Taipei, his aspirations to become a singer had died and he returned home to Shueinioucuo village in Chiayi County. At Chinese New Year, most of the other migrants also returned to the village and, at this point, Ye met a young man called Lin Jin-cing, who was five years older than Ye himself. Lin told the villagers that he had set-up a *kangleduei* – a travelling entertainment and marketing troupe, selling patent medicines, washing powder and other sundry goods – and he invited Ye to join on account of his fine singing voice. Ye joined the *kangleduei* troupe and returned to Taipei, singing songs in markets and other gathering places, and earning 10 dollars a time for the first three months. On some days, the troupe would perform twice and he would earn 20 dollars. After a trial period, his pay increased and he routinely made as much as 400 dollars a month (ibid: 33-46).

The descriptions of Ye Ci-tian's early life and also the accounts given to me by informants highlight four main areas of tension during that period of history. First of all, there is the tension between the urban North and the agricultural South. The migrants mostly came from a very different cultural background in the South and travelled to the Northern urban centres in search of low-wage, unskilled jobs, staying together in the interests of security and camaraderie. The tension between these

regional areas was also reflected in taste preferences; although the Taiwanese-language popular songs were mainly recorded in Taipei, the recording artists themselves were primarily from the South and the audience likewise was based in the South. The second area of tension that is highlighted is that between agriculture and industry, and the ways of life associated with them. Closely related with this is the tension between the older generation, who retained traditional cultural practices and values associated with agricultural life, and the younger generation, who sought to appropriate modern urban personas; the former watched traditional Taiwanese arts and spoke the Taiwanese language, while the latter strove to follow modern popular culture – songs like those that Ye Ci-tian sang in the *kangleduei* – and tended to prefer speaking Mandarin Chinese. In the urban centres, in conjunction with the expansion of incomes and leisure time, new pastimes were being fostered in the markets and night markets (where the *kangleduei* performed). Lastly, there is clearly discernible tension between Far Eastern and Western cultural forms. From the 1950s onwards, the guitar became an instrument that was regularly seen in public spaces (for example, in the performances of the *kangleduei*) and which ordinary people learnt and enjoyed. Ye Cin-tian's biography is a valuable document, evocatively capturing the various tensions between old and new culture in Taiwan and the transformation of Taiwanese identities and values.

4.4 Conflict: tradition versus modernity

Although industrialisation rendered opportunities for employment to the Taiwanese migrants from the countryside, it did not necessarily mean that these migrants could have a better life, higher income or improvement in social status. In fact, in most cases, the reality was quite the opposite. The song 'Jioupisiangde Lioulanger (A

Vagrant with an Old Suitcase)’ (see Example 4.6) in 1973 demonstrates that job-seekers maintained traditional values when entering the urban environment; for male heirs, their motivation was not solely personal gain but rather the betterment of the family:

Example 4.6: Jiupisiangde Lioulanger (A Vagrant with an Old Suitcase)

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 離開著阮故鄉孤單來流浪 | To leave my hometown and travel alone, |
| 不是阮愛放蕩 | It is not because I like travelling. |
| 有話無塊講 | I cannot speak about these things to anyone. |
| 自從我畢業後找無頭路 | I couldn’t find a job since leaving school. |
| 父母也年老要靠阮前途 | My parents are old and I need to take care of them: |
| 做著一個男兒啊應該來打拼 | Oh, it is essential that men should work hard. |
| | |
| 手提著舊皮箱隨風來飄流 | Travel wherever the wind blows with an old suitcase. |
| 阮出外的主張 | My aim in leaving home |
| 希望會成就 | is to achieve success. |
| 不管伊叨一項 | No matter what kind of work it is, |
| 也是做工為生活 | I will do it for a living. |
| 不驚一切的苦嘆 | I am not afraid of working hard: |
| 做著一個男兒啊應該來打拼 | Oh, it is essential that men should work hard. |
| | |
| 看見著面頭前已經來都市 | Look, I am in a city, |
| 他鄉的黃昏時 | The city at sunset. |
| 引人心迷醉 | It is attractive and tempting. |
| 故鄉的親愛的爸爸媽媽 | My dear father and mother in my hometown, |
| 請你也無免掛念阮將來 | Please do not worry about my future: |
| 做著一個男兒啊應該來打拼 | Oh, it is essential that men should work hard. |

The song lyrics tell of a young man leaving his hometown in search of a job, having completed his school education; presumably, he has acquired a leaving certificate from primary or secondary school, which could potentially assist in acquiring a

position. The old suitcase he takes with him indicates that he is from a poor, lower class family in a country village – a stark contrast with the splendid vision of the city at sunset. But there is a more profound meaning to this song, and it concerns the traditional Taiwanese view of a man's role and his responsibilities for his family. The lyrics stress that the protagonist is not in a position to shirk off undesirable work because his parents are relying on his financial support and his efforts to elevate their social position. Attitudes regarding a son's duty to his parents are deep-rooted, largely informed by Confucianism, and unquestioningly adhered to by many. The aspirations of the ideal man are well described in another song, 'Woshih Nanzihhan (I Am a Man)' (see Example 4.7) from 1981:

Example 4.7: Woshih Nanzihhan (I am a Man)

| | |
|--------------|---|
| 啊堂堂五尺以上我是男子漢 | Oh I am more than five feet tall ² : I am a man. |
| 若要給人尊重你 | I want others to respect me, |
| 著愛熱誠對人 | And this will only happen if I treat them sincerely. |
| ... | |
| 啊生成漂泊風度我是男子漢 | Oh I am handsome and gorgeous: I am a man. |
| 若要給人看有到重 | I want others to take me seriously, |
| 著愛真心對人 | And this will only happen if I am open-hearted. |
| ... | |
| 前途是無限希望 | The future is full of hope. |
| 前途是光明燦爛 | The future is full of brightness and happiness. |

With such high self-expectations and such an unshakeable sense of responsibility towards the family, it is not surprising that many young men experienced profound feelings of shame when they proved unable to meet the demands of being a man. They were simply not used to dealing with modern facilities, job requirements,

² In the Taiwanese language, this expression denotes a man of impressive and admirable stature.

transportation systems, food, entertainment, and so on. Discrepancies existed between the old and the new ways of life that led to conflict both within themselves as individuals and within Taiwanese society as a whole.

One of my respondents, Tsai, explained to me about the acute contrast between city and village between the 1960s and 1970s, reminiscing about life in the remote seaside village in Chiayi County where he used to live.

Q: Can you describe your village to me?

A: Yes. Before the early 1970s, there was only one main road connecting it to the towns. The others were just footpaths in the village. The main road was just a track covered with gravel. It was not smooth at all.

Q: How did the villagers go to town? Did they have cars?

A: There were buses to town, around seven to eight times a day. But in my uncles' time, there were trains, which were meant to carry sugarcane and not passengers, but pupils usually took these trains to school. No, there were no cars. In the 1970s, most of the villagers only had bicycles. By the late 1970s a small number of motorbikes had appeared.

Q: What did the villagers do for a living?

A: They were all farmers, although sometimes they caught fish and other edible items from the sea and rivers to subsidise their living costs.

Q: What was their educational level?

A: At that time, villagers over the age of 20 were illiterate or had only been to primary school. Only a few had graduated from secondary school or gone on to higher education.

Q: You mentioned before that there are not many residents in the village now. Why?

A: There isn't enough land to farm and there's a general lack of work. Young unmarried villagers and young couples left to the big towns, thinking they might get more money there.

Q: Where did they go?

A: Taipei or Kaohsiung.

Q: Why?

A: Because these two cities are the biggest in Taiwan.

Q: What kinds of job did they do?

A: They worked in factories or as cooks.

Q: Why did they all do these kinds of jobs?

A: Because they were not well-educated and had no skills. I think to be a cook means learning something, and then they could possibly have a skill to help them make a living.

The kind of rural life described by Tsai is also represented in a somewhat nostalgic fashion in popular songs of the 1960s and 1970s, for example in ‘Ruandegusiang Nandu (My Hometown, the Southern City)’ (Example 4.8).

Example 4.8: Ruandegusiang Nandu (My Hometown, the Southern City)

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 寶島舊府城 | Fucheng, ³ the old capital of Formosa: |
| 懷念阮的鄉里 | I miss my hometown. |
| 自從離開來到異鄉 | Since I left for another city, |
| 已經過數年 | It has been many years. |
| ... | |
| 今日阮收著爸爸寄來批信 | I received a letter from my father today. |
| 講伊捉著大批烏魚 | He said that he had caught a huge number of mullet |
| 好運得財利 | And he was lucky to make a lot of money from it. |
| ... | |
| 你看覓請你看覓 | Look, please have look at it: |
| 阮的故鄉真正美麗 | My hometown is really beautiful. |
| 大魚小魚游來游去 | There are many kinds of fish there. |
| 阮的故鄉南都 | My hometown, the Southern City. |
| 山明水青 | The mountain is pretty and the river is clear. |
| 山明水青 | The mountain is pretty and the river is clear. |

In this song, the young man is describing village life in the southwest coastal area of Taiwan – the same area recalled by Tsai in the previous interview.

The differences between rural and city life were also clarified for me by the female singer Ji Lu-sia, this time in reference to the agricultural small city of Chiayi and the huge urban centre of Taipei. Ji was in an ideal position to compare the two,

³ Fucheng is now named Tainan.

having worked in radio stations in both places in the 1950s and 1960s. Ji told me that Taipei was much more developed and prosperous than Chiayi, with an abundance of tall buildings, factories, and businesses, and citizens who clearly had a higher level of education. In comparison, Chiayi was a plain, quiet, agrarian city where the buildings were mostly bungalows (see Figure 4.1). In Taipei, radio enthusiasts had a far greater range of stations to choose from than in other cities and, in addition, they would regularly phone in to the stations to express their opinions or make requests; meanwhile, in Chiayi, fans would send letters (personal communication on June 23, 2009).



Figure 4.1: Photographs showing Taipei (top) and Chiayi (below) in the 1960s (Huang 1995: 62; Chiayi City Cultural Affairs 2001 1: 15).

The migrants to Taipei often grouped together in the outskirts of the city, where housing was affordable, yet also of a lower standard than in the centre. Many settled

in communities on the opposite bank of the Danshui River, close to Taipei Bridge. Satellite communities rapidly grew into thriving towns, such as Sanchong, Sinjhuang, and Lujhou. Being located directly at the mouth of the bridge and affording quick transport into the heart of the city, Sanchong grew especially large, with large industries established to make the most of the community's surplus of potential factory workers. Many performers were also based in Sanchong, which served as a convenient base for accessing the city's most affluent business and entertainment centre, Dadaocheng (see Figure 4.2). Accordingly, an abundance of singing halls and dancing halls sprang up around the north Yanping Road, which was located near to both the bridge and Dadaocheng. Ji Lu-sia explained to me that this Yanping Road area was populated mainly by Taiwanese people, while the Chinese migrants were mainly based in Simending. Consequently, most of the songs that were performed in the singing halls of Yanping were in the Taiwanese language.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Sanchong became established as the centre of the entertainment production industries. There were at least 42 record companies at that time, including Wuhu, Taisheng, and Lingling, which amounted to approximately 70% of all the record companies in Taiwan. Many songwriters and arrangers also lived in Sanchong, including Ye Jyun-lin, Su Tong, Syu Shih, Lin Li-han, and Chen He-ping. Sanchong became the ideal focal destination for singers (see Tsai 2007: 24-225).



Figure 4.2: Photos of the Taipei Bridge – the second version built in 1921 (left) and the third version erected in 1966 (right) (taken from Sanchong city office website and Wordpedia website in October 2010).

One of my interviewees, Ying, recalled moving to Taipei in 1974 at the age of 16. She confirmed that there was a conspicuous tendency for migrants from the Southwest to group together in communities on the outskirts of the city, such as the aforementioned Sanchong, Sinjhuang, and Lujhou. She stressed that the migrants mainly stayed at the bottom of the social structure, mainly becoming labourers in the manufacturing sector, part-timers (moving from job to job at the whims of employers), self-employed (as shoe-shiners, odd-job people), and waiters or cooks.

In fact, there are many Taiwanese-language popular songs concerned with jobs. For example, Guo Da-cheng wrote a number of Taiwanese-language popular songs that described the types of jobs that Taiwanese people often did in the 1960s, including ‘Lioulang Moshushih’⁴ (A Vagrant Magician), ‘Lioulang Cyuantoushih (A Vagrant Kung Fu Performer)’⁵, ‘Lioulang Puyusan (A Vagrant Umbrella-repairer)’ and so forth. Guo Da-cheng also wrote songs with titles including the word ‘*hutu*’ meaning ‘absent-minded’, such as ‘Hutu Zongbaoshih (An Absent-minded Cook)’.

⁴ The suffix ‘-shih’ denotes one who is well-trained in a specific skill.

⁵ In addition to being experts in kung fu, *cyuantoushih* cure joint problems using traditional therapeutic methods and/or travel from place to place selling medicines.

‘Hutu Lifashih (An Absent-minded Barber)’, ‘Hutu Caifongshih (An Absent-minded Tailor)’ and so on (Guo 2005: 74-77). Another famous song-writer, Wu Sia, wrote a series of job-related songs including the adjective ‘*kuailedede*’ meaning ‘happy’ in their titles, such as ‘Kuailede Tankuangfu (A Happy Miner)’ and ‘Kuailede Gongren (A Happy Labourer)’. For many migrants working in the city, income was unstable and varied from month to month and this was especially the case with performers. It seemed that the Taiwanese people often found themselves trapped at the bottom of the social strata. I argue that Taiwanese-language popular song was a crucial medium through which the Taiwanese people could express and negotiate their experiences during a period of radical change in social structure, and that the songs became significant indicators of identity. As Peter Webb puts it, writing in reference to popular song in general:

These tastes are shaped by the ideological, ethical and musical influences we have acquired.... the musical style, language, dress sense, attitude, body language, aesthetic and general ambience of a genre becomes a marker of identity within the group who are developing it (Webb 2004: 82).

At this point, I suggest that these song texts clearly articulate the social identity of the Taiwanese, also demonstrating that social stratification remained rigid. For the Taiwanese, social mobility had stalled.

The transformation from agriculture to industrialisation and resultant changes in the modes of production were fundamentally responsible for placing the Taiwanese in a position of struggle. And this transformation from tradition to modernity is mirrored in a mute way in Taiwanese-language popular song. Taiwanese-language popular songs produced during the Japanese colonial period feature tunes that closely resemble the melodies of Chinese and Taiwanese folk and classical music, because

the illiterate majority listened to traditional musics in the Taiwanese language, such as opera. Here, there is a well-known reliance on the pentatonic scale (with movable tonic): Do, Re, Mi, So, La. This reliance is indicated in the tuning and techniques of certain widely performed traditional instruments such as the *zheng* zither. The strings of the *zheng* are commonly tuned to Do, Re, Mi, So, La ascending from the lower register to upper register (and nowadays tuned to the absolute pitches of the G mode). Significantly, there are no strings tuned to Fa or Si, so if these notes are required, they have to be produced by pressing on the neighbouring lower pitched strings on the left of the bridge. The construction of the instrument, tuning of the strings, and playing technique mean that the following melodic movements are particularly easy and natural to produce (transposed into C for the sake of legibility):

Ascending scale:



Ascending sequence, leaving out a single string between those that are plucked:



Ascending sequence, leaving out two strings:



Descending scale:



Descending sequence, leaving out a single string:



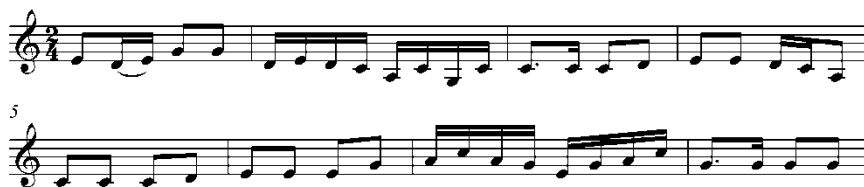
Descending sequence, leaving out two strings:



Accordingly, these intervals feature prominently in traditional repertoire for the instrument such as ‘Shanglou’ (see Score 4.1, again transposed from G mode into C to aid comparison). The patterning in this piece is typical of much Chinese traditional music.

Score 4.1:

Shanglou



Much the same patterning can also be identified in Taiwanese folk repertoire, hinting at the Chinese origins of Taiwan’s population. The song ‘Taohua Guodu (A Girl Is Going to Cross the River)’ (see Score 4.2), from the Southwest of Taiwan, constitutes a good example:

Score 4.2:

Taohua Guodu



Early Taiwanese-language popular songs produced in the 1930s rely on much the same repertoire of patterns, demonstrating a close connection to traditional musical roots. The song ‘Wangchunfong (Looking Forward to the Spring Breeze)’ (see Score 4.3) (CD track 7), which was written by Deng Yu-sian in 1933, constitutes a typical example. With its simple and formulaic pentatonic melody, rendered softly by voice and strings, and its basic rhythmic organisation and foursquare structure (2+2 x 2), predictably marked by piano accompaniment, the song seems to convey a mood of stability and groundedness. Perhaps this quality reflects the Taiwanese people’s continued adherence to traditional agricultural life and work in the 1930s.

Score 4.3:

Wangchunfong



From the 1950s, Taiwanese-language popular songs increasingly incorporated Western musical ideas, often featuring more complex and unpredictable tonal, harmonic, and rhythmic material. The song ‘Gangdu Yeyu (In the Port on a Rainy Night)’ (see Score 4.4) (CD track 8), composed by Yang Sanlang in 1951, involves the Fa and Si degrees of the scale in a minor mode and also features syncopation and triplet rhythms. It was a hugely influential and ground-breaking recording.

Score 4.4:

Gangdu Yeyu



The sound quality itself changed quite dramatically from the 1950s. Before this time, the songs’ musical components, as represented in recordings, seemed to be somewhat muted – as though coming from a distance. However, the sonorities then became brighter and stronger. One reason for this was a change in instrumentation and, in particular, the introduction of brass instruments and drums, which were absent in the earlier songs. ‘Gangdu Yeyu’ (see above) was one of the first songs to introduce brass and percussive sonorities. Other reasons for change in sound quality were the introduction of vinyl for the discs themselves and developments in recording techniques. Wong Siao-Liang, the guitar player, songwriter and producer, isolated some of the most important innovations in recording technology since the wartime (personal communication on June 6, 2009, my trans.):

Q: I heard that recording equipment was much simpler in the past and that people had to stop recording whenever planes flew overhead. Is that right?

A: Yes. That is true. Singers and musicians were well accustomed to it. They would stop singing and playing when aeroplanes were flying over, because they would have to record everything again anyway. Back then, during the recording process, the full ensemble of singers and musicians had to sing and play at the same time, with none of them making a single mistake. Otherwise, the whole process had to be repeated again and again. We, the musicians, were given the score on the day of recording so we only had one opportunity to practise. Initially, the recording equipment only had two sound recording channels but this then increased to four, eight, 16, 24, 48, and now more than one hundred channels. When I began to play the guitar for song recordings in the 1970s, there were already eight channels and the singers no longer had to record their components at the same time as the musicians because two of the channels were reserved exclusively for the singing tracks. However, not every studio owned professional recording equipment like the 'Louye' studio – now run by Ye He-min.

The changes in melodic material, rhythm, instrumentation, and recording techniques obviously derive from the influence of Western musical concepts and technology, happening as part of a larger process of industrialisation. Rapid modernisation was taking Taiwanese society further and further from its agricultural roots.

4.5 The Taiwanese struggle for identity: to be 'the other' or 'the same'?

Of course, the transformation of Taiwanese society from agriculture to industry did not benefit the majority of Taiwanese farmers, and neither did it improve individuals' social status in most cases. This section explores the reasons why the Taiwanese remained unable to take advantage of the very real reformatations that were taking place, arguing that discrimination stemming from the Chinese Nationalist Party's attitude was fundamentally responsible. From the perspective of the ruling party, it was regarded as essential to obstruct the Taiwanese people from upward mobility. As Said states: "Almost all colonial schemes begin with an assumption of native

backwardness and general inadequacy to be independent, ‘equal’, and fit” (Said 1993: 96). And yet, from the Taiwanese perspective, the Taiwanese themselves originally came from China and so, to a high degree, they were surely ‘the same’ as the Chinese immigrants – even if they spoke a language that was unintelligible to the newcomers. The Taiwanese struggled for their identity to be regarded in this light.

The sense of ‘being Chinese’ is actually embedded within many Taiwanese-language popular songs, as we can see in a number of songs that talk about Chinese history or in the titles of songs such as ‘Sanguojih (The Story of Sanguo)’, and ‘Jhongguo Kung Fu (Chinese Kung Fu)’. For example, the song ‘Lioulang Cyuantoushih (A Vagrant Kung Fu Performer)’ sung by Guo Da-cheng in 1965 (see Example 4.9) (CD track 9). In this case, the particularly poignant phrase is ‘Our Chinese kung fu is really great’. Here, the word for ‘our’ is ‘*zan*’ (咱) rather than ‘*ruan*’ (阮), which clearly indicates that the kung fu performers consider themselves to be members of the Chinese in-group, as opposed to merely adopting one of the Chinese art forms.

Example 4.9: Lioulang Cyuantoushih (A Vagrant Kung Fu Player)

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 來來 來來 鑼聲鼓聲響四邊 | Come, come, drum and <i>luo</i> are playing! |
| 現在總請列位眾兄弟 | Now, let's welcome all the performers. |
| 阮一行三五名為著名聲拼生命 | A number of us are trying our best. |
| 啊 請你趕來看 | Oh please come and look at our performance - |
| 流浪江湖硬軟的功夫 | Every kind of kung fu. |
| 緊來 緊來 緊來啦 | Come, come! |
| ... | |
| 若咱中國達摩後功夫是最厲害 | Our Chinese kung fu is really great. |
| ... | |
| 看看 來來 來來 | Look, look! Come, come! |
| 今日有緣來相逢 | It's our good fortune that we can meet today. |

明日就要擱再換別位

We are going somewhere else tomorrow.

...

In this song, the general sense of being ‘the same’ as Chinese people is also reflected in instrumentation. The *muyu* (wooden slit-gong) can be heard periodically throughout the song and other percussion instruments imitate the Chinese small barrel drum and small-sized *luo* (hand-held gong struck with a stick). These three instruments are immediately recognisable as Chinese festival instruments and they were used by Taiwanese travelling performers since long before the Chinese Nationalist party arrived. To augment the Chinese associations further, a well-known Chinese folk tune ‘Taihuchuan’ is incorporated within the interludes.

In spite of the Taiwanese people’s Chinese origins, the Chinese Nationalist government and recent Chinese immigrants saw the indigenous Taiwanese as ‘the others’ (Morris 2004: 4-5). In part, this approach constituted a continuation of deep-rooted attitudes that have prevailed throughout Taiwan’s history as a part of the Chinese Empire. The island was not regarded as a sufficient asset to the Empire and, accordingly, in the second half of the seventeenth century the Qing dynasty had even restricted the settlement of Taiwan by mainland Chinese. As Knapp points out, the attitude of the Qing dynasty towards Taiwan had always been indifferent, if not condescending, culminating in the ceding of the island to Japan in 1895 (Knapp 1976: 43). Although the message proclaimed by the Chinese Nationalist government from 1945 was that ‘You, the Taiwanese people, are Chinese’, it is important to understand this proclamation as a political tool to bring about de-Japanisation and re-Sinicisation (documented in Chapter Two). The historical evidence and discriminatory policies indicate that, within the rulers’ minds, the old attitudes regarding Taiwanese ‘otherness’ persisted.

The Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office was set up by the Chinese Nationalist government on 31 August 1945 with Chen Yi as its first leader, responsible for the island's administrative, legislative and judiciary procedures. In 1946, when visiting the city of Taichung, Chen made a speech stressing that to be a good citizen one must understand the language, law, and history of the motherland, and expressing hope that the Taiwanese people would learn these three things as soon as possible. At the same time, it was clearly not the intention of the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office to put Taiwanese people in governmental positions; irrespective of the fact that there were many well-educated professional Taiwanese intellectuals, the Chinese considered them to be too few in number and insufficiently skilled, lacking expertise in Chinese language and bureaucratic procedure. In fact, the number of Taiwanese government officials actually dropped dramatically with the accession of the Chinese Nationalist government, from 46,955 at the close of Japanese rule to just 24,714 in November 1946. Most of these Taiwanese officials only worked in relatively low status jobs, the higher positions being occupied by Chinese immigrants. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the Chinese Nationalist government's approaches to the Taiwanese were largely based on deep-rooted stereotypes (after Homi Bhabha 1994: 74-75); Taiwanese people were thought to be naturally servile and therefore unfit to participate in political activities (Chen 2008: 339-361). Deriving from his studies of Black and White interaction in the Caribbean, Algeria, and elsewhere, Frantz Fanon has pinpointed the coloniser's typical approach to cultural preservation as follows:

The area of culture is then marked off by fences and signposts ... Every effort is made to bring the colonized person to admit the inferiority of his culture which has been transformed into instinctive patterns of behaviour, to recognize the unreality of his

'nation', and in the last extreme, the confused and imperfect character of his own biological structure (Fanon 1994: 45).

The colonisers accordingly view the colonised culture as unworthy of preservation, even though it is of course the product of a people's history and their natural heritage. The importation of the colonisers' culture is thought to be best for everyone, and this justifies the use of military, political, and economic force (cf. Cabral 1994: 54-55).

Discrimination was undoubtedly the main obstacle preventing the Taiwanese people from entering the government sector and moving upwards in terms of social status. The Taiwanese had certainly not been expecting this treatment. Reminiscing about those early days, one member of the Taiwanese middle class explained: "It felt so wonderful to be escaping from misery and to be part of the Republic of China". Another said: "Taiwan originally belonged to China, so it felt wonderful to be Taiwanese again" (Huang, Jhang & Wu 2003: 244-245). Accordingly, several organisations were founded by Taiwanese people to cooperate with the Chinese Nationalist government and help it to settle in Taiwan (ibid: 244-252). Unfortunately, the dreams of the Taiwanese were soon shattered and disillusion quickly followed along with conflict between the two groups, confusion regarding Taiwanese identity, and class struggle.

Conclusion

Historically, Taiwan, as a colonised territory, has been under the control of a number of very different rulers, ranging from the Dutch and the Spanish in the earlier seventeenth century, the Chinese Qing Dynasty from the late seventeenth through to the late nineteenth centuries, the Japanese Empire from the end of the nineteenth century, and then the Chinese Nationalists from the mid-1940s. The people of Taiwan

have suffered degrees of discrimination as a matter of course during each of these periods of rule, and it was not until the late 1980s that martial law was lifted in what could be called the ‘modern period’. Inevitably, the inhabitants have had to face successive waves of large-scale social, political, economic, and cultural transformation. They have had to develop adaptability.

In 1945, having returned to a version of Chinese rule in the form of the Chinese Nationalist Party, the Taiwanese anticipated a new life and the prospect of belonging to ‘their own country’; after all, the majority of Taiwanese shared Han ethnicity with the new immigrants from mainland China. However, the Taiwanese did not experience significant improvements in their social status in conjunction with the government’s schemes and regulations to promote economic growth. The transformation from agricultural to industrial modes of production, which happened on a massive scale between the 1950s and 1980s, generated a large surplus of poor agrarian labourers and enormous challenges to Taiwanese society and identity. Taiwanese-language popular songs from this period offer revealing insights into the Taiwanese people’s predicaments as they tried to adapt – migrating in search of work, imagining a better future, reminiscing about the rural past, and considering their roles and responsibilities.

In Taiwanese-language popular songs concerning migration, ‘mother’, ‘leaving home’, and ‘life in the city’ are highly conspicuous themes, signifying that many in the younger generation were leaving their families behind, often in a state of sorrow but mixed with high expectations. Meanwhile, the older generation stayed at home, maintaining the agricultural way of life. In this way, the traditional structures and values of Taiwanese society were thrown into conflict with modernity and, in this chapter, I have argued that the diverse tensions that resulted – between old and new,

agricultural and urban, traditional and progressive – have left their marks in the texts of these songs. As Max Paddison puts it:

All modernisms do in fact have one important thing in common: they are defined by the conflict between the process of societal modernization and the claims of tradition. ... On the one hand, the geographical and cultural centres of modernism have a powerful influence on the peripheries and draw them towards them and absorb them; on the other hand, it is at the peripheries that the tension between innovation and tradition becomes evident to us, because of incomplete absorption (Paddison 2008: 68-69).

With conflict being an inevitable symptom of modernisation, it is perhaps not surprising to find diverse manifestations of conflict in cultural expression. But in this case, the conflict was exacerbated through concurrent interactions between contrasting ideologies – Taiwanese and Chinese. Some of the song lyrics from this transformative period reveal that the Taiwanese maintained (and continue to maintain) a sense of being Chinese, and yet, it has been shown that the Taiwanese people continued to face discrimination from their counterparts, the Chinese Nationalists.

Chapter 5: The imagery of Taiwanese-language popular song

Being a language that historically didn't have a written form that expressed every aspect of sound and meaning, Taiwanese narrative style in music has always remained closely allied to the spoken-word as opposed to literary texts. Because of this quality, it has been well suited to expressing the experiences and struggles of the Taiwanese labourers within the medium of popular song. The texts of Taiwanese-language popular song reveal the social reality of the emigrants who have moved from remote areas to the cities, as well as the situation of the villagers who remained at home. In this chapter, I will begin with an exploration of the everyday social reality of the period from the 1950s to the 1980s, as it is expressed in song lyrics, while also discussing government policies of the time to show why these new workers in the cities failed to improve their social status. I also explore the qualitative judgments and associations connected to Taiwanese-language popular song and isolate the particular musical and lyrical features that are frequently identified as being distinctly 'Taiwanese'. I go on to suggest that tensions and conflicts have become embedded in Taiwanese society, and do this by demonstrating the connection between listeners' tastes and locality. In order to provide a more inclusive assessment of the social reality of the focal period, I then move on to consider the representation of women's roles in society, as expressed within song.

5.1 Taiwanese-language song and everyday life

The representation of 'social reality' (that is, the real everyday life of ordinary people) is an overt characteristic of Taiwanese-language popular song from the 1950s to the 1980s. Over these four decades, a large proportion of Taiwanese-language popular

songs not only described the feeling of being away from home, sorrow at leaving the family and lovers behind, and uncertainty about relocating to a new place and finding a new job, but also revealed the difficulties of living in poverty. The song texts shed light on Taiwan's social history, exposing the factors that contributed to the social stratification of Taiwanese society. Evidently, people's judgments of themselves and of others were based on the criteria of industrial society. As John Blacking notes: "In many industrial societies, merit is generally judged according to signs of immediate productivity and profits, and postulated usefulness, within the boundaries of a given system" (Blacking 1995: 9).

Although the Chinese Nationalist government had made efforts to promote industrialisation since the 1950s, and had changed its economic policies over time, the 'export-oriented' strategy was not successful in the 1970s and 1980s; the ambition to enter the industrial world was still in progress (Biggart and Guillén 2002: 239-241). Although there were moves towards heavy industry during this period, the manufacturing sector in Taiwan was still mainly geared towards the production of agrarian processed food. To compete in and enter the global market, Taiwan provided lower wages for lesser-educated labourers. This contributed to the division of labour, which was already being promoted through the well-documented processes of specialisation, simplified methods of production, and mechanisation (Smith 2002: 7-8). Karl Marx adopted the term "civilising influence" to describe industrialisation's effects upon consumption and production, while acknowledging that these effects inevitably brought about a destruction of pre-industrial methods of production and associated values (Marx 2002: 20-21). Indeed, in the case of Taiwan, "civilising influence" did lead to agrarian labourers losing their farming jobs and eventually losing their homes (see Figure 5.1). As detailed earlier, many ex-labourers responded

by moving to cities and some experts were alarmed by the sudden shortage of farmers because Taiwan's economy still relied on agriculture (*United News* July 28 1969).



Figure 5.1: Advertisements showing the advantages of modern farming technology. On the left, the heading of the printed page from the *Fongnian* journal (1957) reads: ‘Cows are no longer needed for farming!’ The image on the right is a still from a 1965 television documentary (Both images from ‘One Hundred Years of Agricultural Development in Taiwan’ website, accessed in August 2011).

During these four decades, Taiwan's manufacturing depended heavily on agricultural produce such as pineapples, tomatoes and asparagus, which were tinned for export. However, only 68% of the island's cultivatable land was actually used at that time for agriculture (which was an especially small area given that more than 60% of Taiwan consists of un-cultivable mountainous areas). This meant that there was an enormous surplus of potential farm workers. In the 1950s, there were 4,098,290 agricultural labourers, 646,042 farm families, and 2,156,210 acres of farms. On average, each farming family owned just 3.3 acres. It is not surprising that land was extraordinarily expensive while labour was extremely cheap (Chang 1952: 362-365). Some Taiwanese-language popular songs, for example the song ‘Nongcuncyu (The

Song of Country Life)’ (see Example 5.1) indicate the problems faced by many farmers. This song was composed in 1935 but remained popular throughout the period in question.

Example 5.1: Noncuncyu (The Song of Country Life)

| | |
|---------|--|
| 透早就出門 | I go out in the very early morning, |
| 天色漸漸光 | The sky is gradually brightening. |
| 受苦無人問 | No one cares about my suffering, |
| 行到田中央 | I come to work on the farm. |
| 行到田中央 | I come to work on the farm, |
| 為著顧三當 | Only for the food that I need every day. |
| 顧三當 | For food, |
| 嘸驚田水冷酸酸 | I won’t be afraid of the cold water in the paddy fields. |

Craig C. Wu conducted a more detailed study about agricultural productivity and lifestyle in the 1960s, discovering that, on average, farming families consisted of 6 individuals, owning just 1.2 hectares (approximately 3 acres), and with a low level of education (under 7 years for each individual) (Wu 1977: 699). Wu’s data illustrates the acute problems facing farmers at that time: how could they be self-sufficient and meet the needs of their families? And, with such a low level of education, what alternatives could they possibly pursue? A number of Taiwanese-language popular songs describe some of the measures that poor unskilled labourers took to supplement or substitute their incomes. One example is the song ‘Shaorouzong (Warm Rouzong¹)’ (see Example 5.2, Figure 5.2) (CD track 10), written by Jhang Ciou Dong-song in 1949 and sung by Guo Jin-fa in 1967. This song, which remained

¹ *Rouzong* is a traditional food made of rice and pork wrapped in bamboo leaves. *Rouzong* has long been popular in Taiwan as a food stall product.

popular throughout the 1970s, vividly describes the type of hardship faced by ordinary people.

Example 5.2: Shaorouzhong (Warm *Rouzhong*)

| | |
|--------------|---|
| 自悲自嘆歹命人 | I am an unfortunate person. |
| 父母本來真痛疼 | My parents loved me, |
| 給我讀書幾落冬 | sent me to school for several years. |
| 出業頭路無半項 | I had no any job after I left school, |
| 暫時來賣燒肉粽 | so temporarily I am selling <i>rouzhong</i> . |
| 燒肉粽 燒肉粽 賣燒肉粽 | Warm <i>rouzhong</i> , warm <i>rouzhong</i> , selling <i>rouzhong</i> . |
| | |
| 要做生意真困難 | It is very difficult to run a business |
| 那無本錢做未動 | If there is no money. |
| 不正行為是不通 | Being a bad man is not right, |
| 所以暫時做這項 | So temporarily I am forced to sell <i>rouzhong</i> , |
| 環境迫我賣肉粽 | Because of my situation. |
| 燒肉粽 燒肉粽 賣燒肉粽 | Warm <i>rouzhong</i> , warm <i>rouzhong</i> , selling <i>rouzhong</i> . |
| | |
| 物件一日一日貴 | The price of everything goes up day after day. |
| 厝內頭嘴這大堆 | There are so many people in my family. |
| 雙腳走到要鐵腿 | My legs ache as I've been walking and walking. |
| 遇著無銷最克虧 | It is even worse that no one buys <i>rouzhong</i> . |
| 認真攞賣燒肉粽 | I try my best to sell <i>rouzhong</i> . |
| 燒肉粽 燒肉粽 賣燒肉粽 | Warm <i>rouzhong</i> , warm <i>rouzhong</i> , selling <i>rouzhong</i> . |



Figure 5.2: Photographs of a *rouzhong* stand and *rouzhongs* being steamed in Chiayi (Photographs by the author, 2011).

Many unskilled school leavers pursued small businesses as a last resort. In addition to selling *rouzong*, they would sell noodles, stinky tofu, and ice with beans or fruit on it, or other traditional street foods (see Figure 5.3). Even though these salespeople often had a higher level of education than their parents, they found themselves no better placed to use their knowledge and skills.



Figure 5.3: Pictures of food stalls in the 1960s, selling fruit ice (left) and stinky tofu (right) (Huang 1995: 111, 116).

At this point, I shall examine the Chinese Nationalist Party's land policies regarding the farming of arable land. Between the time of Chiang Kai-shek's arrival in Taiwan, in 1949, and 1953, the Party introduced three land policies, which were principally aimed at securing their own economic and political power, rather than benefitting the farm workers or the middle-class land owners. The 228² incident of 1947, in which tens of thousands of youths were killed, demonstrated that the party was actually intent on suppressing the middle class. The land policies continued this trend by taking ownership from the middle-class farmers.

The Party's first step in launching the land reform programme was to fix a maximum level of rent at 37.5% of yield in April 1949 (although it has emerged that

² See page 113.

this policy was not legislated until May 25, 1951). On the face of it, this policy appeared beneficial to tenant farmers, at the expense of the landowners. The duration of contract was six years, with the existing tenant having priority over anyone else, should he wish to renew the contract or buy the land from the landowner (Encyclopedia of Taiwan website, accessed in Dec. 2010). However, some landlords responded to this policy by circumventing the contract, adding an addition non-official rent. By July 1952, there were 35,315 reported cases of landowners not following the official policy. On the other hand, at least the policy enabled some tenants to become landowners themselves (Liou 2001: 72-74).

In 1951, the next major policy was introduced – ‘Sale of Public Lands’ – which was subsequently reinstated a further nine times up until 1976. With each reinstatement of this policy, plots of land that had been taken by the Chinese Nationalist Party from the Japanese colonial rule were sold back to the Taiwanese people. This land was mainly sugar cane farmland. At the same time, large areas of land that were previously owned by private landowners were confiscated by the Party and then, they too, were sold to the Taiwanese people. The Chinese Nationalist government repaid the previous landowners by giving them shares in four National businesses: Taiwan Cement, Pulp & Paper Corporation, Tea Corporation, and Mining Corporation. Using these shares, the landowners could then invest in the industrial sector and mechanise the modes of production in their remaining land. By 1976, a total of 138,957 hectares of national land had been sold to 286,287 farmer families at the cost of 2.5 times the average annual yield of rice or sweet potato, paid in 10 installments yearly (Council for Economic Planning and Development website accessed in Dec. 2010). But the truth is that the Party only ever actually sold a meager 28% of all the arable land that they owned (Liou 2001: 75). In addition, most

farmers could not afford any more than 0.49 hectares, which was not enough to provide for the average family of six people. As a result, most agrarian families planted a variety of vegetables, raised pigs and chickens on waste products, and collected frogs (in the rice paddies) and voles (in the sugar cane fields), in order to facilitate bartering with their neighbours, supplement their own nutrition during hard months, and make additional income. The song 'Atuzai Mai Shueiwa (Atuzai Sells Frogs)', which is discussed later in connection with the stereotypes of Taiwanese people, demonstrates the farmers' reliance on supplementary income (see Example 5.6).

The third policy that the Party introduced was explicitly intended to end peasantry and was known as 'Land to the Tiller'. This policy, which was legislated in 1953, aimed to limit the amount of land that landowners could have to a maximum of 2.91 hectares of paddy fields and twice as much dry farmland. If they had more, they were obliged to sell it. On account of this policy, 106,049 landlords were levied to give up a total of 139,261 hectares, which constituted 57% of the land that was subsequently sold through the other policies.

Because of the three land policies introduced by the Party, the amount of land worked by tenant farmers decreased from 41% (of all arable land) in 1949 to just 10% in 1961. The government isolated a number of advantages that stemmed from these policies. Firstly, the policies reduced the number of tenant farm workers; because the workers now owned the land they were working, they were more motivated to increase productivity, and this led to overall greater food provision. Second, the farmers' increased income was said to have encouraged them to consume more goods, boosting the service and manufacturing sectors. Third, the landowners were no longer restricted to agricultural concerns but were also active capitalists,

owning shares in the four National companies; this was deemed as progress. Fourth, the government gained huge amounts of money from selling the land, which could be invested in the industrial sector (Encyclopedia of Taiwan website accessed in Dec. 2010). On the other hand, the evidence shows that these policies resulted in the majority of farming families owning insufficient land to make a living (see Liou 2001: 79). More importantly, to buy their land, the peasants paid in kind but the prices were fixed by the government and they were very high, approximately three times more than the actual price of the land (ibid: 140-141). Evidently, despite the government's claims, the emancipation of the lowest levels of society was not the true purpose of the Chinese Nationalist Party. Clearly, the transformation of Taiwanese society from agriculture to industrialisation was a far more pressing concern. The following songs, from 1973 and 1968 respectively, are further examples illustrating the continuing poverty of the lowest stratum of society: 'Maibing Siaosyongdi (A Boy Selling Ice-lollies)' (Example 5.3) and 'Ruanshih Zuogongren (I am a Worker)' (Example 5.4).

Example 5.3: Maibing Siaosyongdi (A Boy Selling Ice-lollies)

| | |
|-----------|--|
| 自悲嘆歹命人 | I am an unfortunate person, |
| 厝內真正窮 | My family is really poor. |
| 風吹日曬生意照常做 | I have to sell ice-lollies no matter the weather is. |
| 沿路喊賣枝仔冰啦 | I sell ice-lollies on the street, |
| 一隻五角 | Five pence each. |
| ... | |

Example 5.4: Ruanshih Zuogongren (I am a Worker)

| | |
|--------|--|
| 阮就是做工人 | I am a worker, |
| 快樂的做工人 | A happy worker. |
| 天未光就出門 | I go to work before the break of dawn. |

| | |
|---------|---|
| 嘸驚路途遠 | I am not afraid, even though it is far away. |
| 家庭窮吃無法度 | Because my family is poor there is nothing else I can do. |
| 穿著破衫褲 | I wear old clothes that are full of holes. |

The songwriter Lyu Cyuan-sheng claimed that the period of depression that ensued following these land policies was a primary influence upon one of his most famous creations, the song ‘Ruanruo Dakai Sinneide Menchuang (If I Open the Door and Window in My Mind)’, which he composed in 1958 (see Example 5.5). The text of this song, which Lyu commissioned from his friend Wang Chang-syong, elaborates upon the theme of reminiscence. Wang himself explained that the mass internal migration and separation of families that characterised the post-war years caused him to recollect his own experiences of leaving home in order to spend 11 years as a student in Japan. He contemplated how, in such circumstances, one thinks of one’s home town, one’s loved ones, and time past, trying to remember and to recreate the good old days (Yang 1994: 93-94).

Example 5.5: Ruanruo Dakai Sinneide Menchuang (If I Open the Door and Window in My Mind)

...

| | |
|------------|--|
| 阮若打開心內的窗 | If I open the window in my mind, |
| 就會看見心愛彼個人 | I will see the one I love. |
| 雖然人去樓也空 | Although the one I love has gone, |
| 總會暫時給阮心頭輕鬆 | It gives me a moment of happiness to think of her. |
| 所愛的人今何在 | The one I love, where is she? |
| 望你永遠在阮心內 | I hope you are always in my mind. |
| 阮若打開心內的窗 | If I open the window in my mind, |
| 就會看見心愛彼個人 | I will see the one I love. |
| | |
| 阮若打開心內的門 | If I open the door in my mind, |
| 就會看見故鄉的田園 | I will see the fields of my hometown. |
| 雖然路途千里遠 | Although my hometown is far way, |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 總會暫時給阮思念想要返 | It makes me want to go back. |
| 故鄉故鄉今何在 | Hometown, hometown, where are you? |
| 望你永遠在阮心內 | I hope my hometown is always in my mind. |
| 阮若打開心內的門 | If I open the door in my mind, |
| 就會看見故鄉的田園 | I will see the fields of my hometown. |
| | |
| 阮若打開心內的窗 | If I open the window in my mind, |
| 就會看見青春的美夢 | I will see the dream I had when I was young. |
| 雖然前途無希望 | Although there is no hope for my future, |
| 總會暫時消阮滿腹怨歎 | It brings me a moment of relief. |
| 青春美夢今何在 | Where is the dream I had when I was young? |
| 望你永遠在阮心內 | I hope it is always in my mind. |
| 阮若打開心內的窗 | If I open the window in my mind, |
| 就會看見青春的美夢 | I will see the dream I had when I was young. |

This song is still admired by most Taiwanese people today and is also regarded as one of very few high-quality Taiwanese-language popular songs among listeners who do not generally listen to that repertoire.

5.2 The stereotype of Taiwanese people

The novel *Zaijian Tongnian* (*The Childhood*) tells the story of a child and his friends, depicting an agrarian family's everyday life in the 1960s and 1970s. The family of the child Hou-biao planted luffas and pumpkins outside their house, raised pigs, and cooked sweet potatoes and potato leaves once a week for the family and the pigs. They were poor and used a wood fire for cooking and Hou-biao did not shower often because of a lack of water. Among other details indicating the difficulties of poor rural life, Hou-biao cuts bamboo into smooth pieces for the family to use instead of toilet tissue, goes to church to receive biscuits, sweets, and second-hand clothes from American soldiers. Meanwhile, his father and other villagers gamble outside the village shop, listening to Taiwanese-language popular songs being played on the

radio. In one episode, he takes six *rouzongs* to his teacher and is delighted when he is repaid with an apple and an ice-lolly, made by the teacher's wife. Apples were very expensive at that time and very few families had refrigerators in the village (Lin 1989: 12-36). It is significant that, in this story, Hou-biao's teacher is a Chinese immigrant – one of the privileged few able to afford such goods. In this way, the story effectively illustrates the basic differences in living standards between the Taiwanese people and the Chinese immigrants.

There are also a number of Taiwanese-language popular songs that vividly depict the lifestyle of the rural poor, including the song 'Atuzai Mai Shueiwa (Atuzai Sells Frogs)' (see Example 5.6), from the late 1960s. The name 'Atu' is traditionally used to denote someone who is crude in manners, lacking in education, and lives a rough life; the stereotype is of someone who wears slippers and a vest and, especially, speaks only the Taiwanese language. In this song, the main character is a poor farmer who supplements his living by selling frogs. It was common for farmers to catch the frogs that lived in the rice paddies at night and sell them in the market the next day. This song demonstrates that agriculture has become imbued with negative connotations, and associated with under-development.

Example 5.6: Atuzai Mai Shueiwa (Atuzai Sells Frogs)

| | |
|----------|---|
| 人人叫我阿土 | Everyone calls me Atu |
| 講我人俗俗 | Because they say I look humble. |
| 憨人憨福有福氣 | But a simple person is often lucky: |
| 出門水蛙捉歸堆 | I have caught a lot of frogs. |
| 提去四街招人買 | I take these frogs to sell in the street; |
| 水蛙一斤是無賴多 | They are cheap per kilo. |
| 要買請您著卡緊咧 | Hurry up and buy them: |
| 剩無賴多通好賣 | There are not many left! |

| | |
|---------|---|
| 我名字叫做土 | My name is Atu |
| 我人無土土 | But I am not rude. |
| 老實由人來欺負 | Others tease me and call me simple-minded, |
| 認真賺錢建大厝 | But I work hard to earn money to build a good, big house. |
| ... | |

The use of song to express a general predicament of poverty, dissatisfaction, and social exclusion is well-documented in many cultures. For example, in relation to songs representing the plight of migrant workers in Lesotho, Coplan argues that “cultural performances involving music, dance, verbal art, and other aesthetic media serve both to formulate local knowledge and to communicate its shared understandings in the total context of social institutions, relationships, and realities” (Coplan 1988: 337). Coplan proposes that the songs are a tool of emotional expression, in which the texts, rhythms, melodies and instrumentation serve as a reflection of their lifestyle (Coplan 1988: 337-368). Of course, another form of song that is well-known for depicting a life of poverty is the blues. Howlin’ Wolf’s description of the blues in the Newport Folk Festival in 1966 clearly illustrates the link between song and personal hardship:

A lot of people wonder what is the blues. ... But let me tell you what the blues is. When you got no money, you got the blues; when you got no money to pay your house, you still got the blues. ... You got no money and can’t pay your house, and when you came back, you got no food. You down, you got the blues. That’s what I said. Yes, that what I’ve said. ... and that’s what the blues come in (DVD: The Howlin’ Wolf Story, 2003).

The aforementioned song ‘Atuzai Mai Shueiwa (Atuzai Sells Frogs)’ represented the reality of poverty and, significantly, it became a hit for the singer Chang-cing, catapulting him to fame. Presumably, listeners could relate to Atu’s predicament and, in a sense, Chang-cing was expressing their own feelings. In short, the song

encapsulated the social identity or a large portion of society. Richard Jenkins notes that “social identity is a characteristic or property of humans as social beings ... identity is not ‘just there’, it must always be established... [that] expression refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities... It is the systematic establishment and signification of relationships of similarity and difference... similarity and difference are the dynamic principles of identity” (1996: 3-4). So, one could say that, while expressing the predicament of the Taiwanese populace, songs such as ‘Atuzai Mai Shueiwa (Atuzai Sells Frogs)’ also contributed to the formation of stereotypes that endure into the present day. The construction of the Taiwanese people’s social identity resulted from negotiation between ‘us’ and ‘others’, profoundly influenced by political, economic, cultural and social hegemony from the Chinese Nationalist Party. By consuming songs like the one about the frog seller, the Taiwanese people even promoted their social identity as inferior.

The stereotypical image of the Taiwanese people is that of a subordinate social group and, accordingly, still today, Taiwanese-language popular song is viewed as subordinate to Chinese-language popular song and is associated with vulgarity and crudeness. I once asked a young hairdresser about her tastes in popular music (while she was washing my hair) and the conversation revealed what the typical associations are with Taiwanese-language popular song.

Q: What kind of popular song do you listen to?

A: Chinese-language popular song.

Q: What about Taiwanese-language popular song?

A: No, never. That’s not good.

Q: Don’t you like it?

A: It’s fine.

Q: So why don’t you want to listen to it?

A: If you listen to Taiwanese-language popular song, other people will think you are
'meishueijhun'

'Meishueijhun' is a thoroughly derogatory word, implying ill-mannered behaviour, low status social position, and much more besides. One of my interviewees, the song writer and record producer H, discussed the reasons underlying the negative associations of Taiwanese-language popular song in more detail as follows:

There was a period when the Taiwanese language was banned in the mass media, like TV, and then there was a time limit put in place for the broadcasting of programmes in Taiwanese... Taiwanese-language popular song was regarded as a subordinate genre: it was a form of subculture, a local culture, and could not be accepted as mainstream in Taiwan. So, music and the arts in the Taiwanese language were suppressed, and were dominated by Mandarin Chinese. Taiwanese-language popular song therefore became [regarded as] a lower cultural form, with all the discrimination that resulted from this. There was an invisible discrimination within culture, towards audiences and singers of Taiwanese-language popular song. ... It didn't mean that the Taiwanese people had to listen only to Taiwanese-language popular song and were excluded from Chinese-language popular song. There was a strange phenomenon existing in Chinese-language popular song, the musical features of which could be divided into two categories: on the one hand, those songs that were straightforwardly Chinese in character, and on the other hand those songs that [even though in Mandarin Chinese] had a Taiwanese feeling about them. ... Yes, take the example of the singer Fong Fei-fei: even though she was able to cross the [linguistic] boundaries, her fans were nevertheless much more common among blue-collar workers, and she was less popular with the white-collar class. ... Yes, we think music will be like this – you will unconsciously divide it into different categories [according to social class preferences]. (personal communication on May 22, 2009, my trans.).

It is perhaps no wonder that Taiwanese-language popular song is associated with low social ranking – as my own experiences of growing up demonstrate. In the 1970s, I lived in Chiayi city somewhere away from the town centre, ten minutes on foot. The neighbourhood was entirely made up of labourers, the self-employed, and housewives. There were several barbershops, food stores, sweet shops, and three

pharmacies. Most of the females aged over forty were illiterate; they did some domestic work at home which possibly enabled them to do housework and care for children at the same time. Most young men and women received at most nine years of schooling and worked as low-paid operators in factories. It was difficult for these families to send their children to learn other extra skills, such as playing the piano (which was the preserve of the rich and well-educated). There was only one man who could play the violin in the area. Although we had a radio and, later, a record player, it was not until the 1970s that we acquired a TV set. My family and acquaintances mainly listened to Taiwanese-language popular songs on the radio both at home and at work. Of course, there were other cultural activities in the town centre including films and singers' tours (although these were rare events), but these activities were too expensive for ordinary people to attend frequently.

Meanwhile, in the coastal village where Tsai lived, in the 1970s, there were two general stores, some sweet shops, and a tailor. Villagers would gather at these shops in order to chat with the shop owners and listen to what was on the radio – which, again, was mainly Taiwanese-language popular song. The tailor was well-known in the village for his habitual reading of newspapers, which most other villagers were unable to do, and also for his ownership of a record player, on which he mainly played Taiwanese-language popular song. Music heard on the radio and, to a lesser extent, record players constituted the only form of musical experience for people living in rural villages and smaller communities in Chiayi – with the sole exception of traditional forms such as *gezihsi* and *budaisi*, commonly performed in religious festivals until the 1980s.

The hardship experienced by the majority of Taiwanese also extended to Taiwanese songwriters, including one of the most prolific Taiwanese song lyric

writers, Ye Jyun-lin, who wrote more than eight thousand Taiwanese-language popular songs after the Second World War. Ye's daughter remembered that their life had been difficult at that time and they needed support from relatives and friends. At the beginning of his writing career, Ye only received 100 NTD for writing each song text. At that time, musicians and songwriters were not aware of copyright law and generally sold their material to companies for a single one-off payment, without any royalties. Ye's wife was obliged to work as a nanny and seamstress, but even then the family had to borrow the children's school registration fees from relatives (Ye 2001: 266).

It can be seen that, to a high degree, the Taiwanese became accustomed to the language, melodies, and arrangements of Taiwanese-language popular song through constant exposure during their everyday lives. While many of the older generation could not understand the texts of Chinese language songs at all, the use of readily comprehensible Taiwanese language, colloquial and emotional style of delivery, and themes that people could easily relate to, naturally enabled the bonds between songs and people to be strong. The songs became representative of people's identities, hopes and life-styles in a manner resembling, for example, the Zulu migrant workers relationship with *isicathamiya*. As Erlmann points out, *isicathamiya* came to signify 'here' and 'now', 'past' and 'future', and to identify the community of Zulu migrant workers as male-focused and family-orientated (Erlmann 1992: 688-697). In Taiwanese-language popular song also, texts relate directly to everyday concerns in a manner that necessitates no conscious reflection on the part of the listener. In response to the question "Why do you like listening to Taiwanese-language popular song?", some of my respondents claimed that they were 'touched' by it and that the songs felt 'close' to them; the lyrics were 'full of feeling'.

Over the four decades in question, Taiwanese-language popular song can be seen as addressing four main concerns: the lives of migrant workers in the city; agricultural life in the countryside; the experiences of women; and love (although songs in this final category frequently feature the parting of lovers, one heading to the city and the other staying in the countryside, thereby relating to the other categories). I have already discussed songs about workers at some length, so I shall now turn to examining the lyrics of songs concerned with rural agricultural life and women's experiences.

Many Taiwanese-language popular songs describe the work that farmers do. One particularly famous example is 'Shueiche Guniang (A Girl is Working on a Water Wheel)' (see Example 5.7), sung by Chen Su-hua in 1967 and depicting the scene of a young girl and her father who work on the farm every day. However, this song is not as simple as it seems; there are more complex layers underlying the structure of this song. Take a glance of the title: 'Water Wheel'; here, the water supply relies on manpower and not yet on machinery, and the lyrics prove this point when they refer to the girl stepping on the wheel (see Figure 5.4) (The Taiwanese water wheel, just like those elsewhere in Asia, is operated by a worker treading it to divert water from a stream into a paddy field; it is not a labour-saving mechanism in the sense that the European wheel is). This song shows us that the mode of production had not yet been transformed by machinery. The song also makes another important point: that the role of the young man has disappeared in the traditional family. There are only the old father and the young girl. Does this mean that the young men no longer need to help with the farming? Are we to understand that the young men are no longer the key workers in traditional Taiwanese society? The answer can be found in the third verse: the young man went to study in the city. And

yet another question emerges from this. Why did the men leave to study in the modern city while the women stayed in the village retaining the old traditional style of life? It tells the story that Taiwanese society was becoming an unbalanced society in terms of gender. I will return to the question of whether or not the gender imbalance remained in place after industrialisation later in this chapter.

Example 5.7: Shueiche Guniang (A Girl is Working on a Water Wheel)

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 爸爸牽水牛 | Father leads the buffalo |
| 經過田岸邊 | Walking along the farm path. |
| ... | |
| 做一個農家女兒 | Being the daughter of a farmer, |
| 每日踏水車 | I need to tread the water wheel every day. |
| ... | |
| 飛來又飛去 | Hovering around, |
| 一對白鷺鷥 | A pair of egrets |
| 引阮思念心愛哥哥 | Make me think of my lover. |
| 難忘的情味 | Unforgettable sweet love. |
| ... | |
| 幫忙著年老爸爸每日踏水車 | To help my old father I tread the water wheel every day. |
| ... | |
| 為著伊學業 | It is because my love studies |
| 站著小城市 | In the city. |
| 彼日批信也是叫阮 | The letter he wrote to me the other day |
| 忍耐心稀微 | Also told me to bear the loneliness. |
| ... | |



Figure 5.4: A picture of farmers treading a water wheel in Taipei in the 1950s (from Taipei Fine Art Museum 2010: 204).

It is also significant that the young man in the song ‘Shueiche Guniang’ has moved to the city specifically for the purposes of studying. This implies that upward social mobility was a possible social aspiration for farmers, reflecting and promoting the view that one’s social status corresponds to one’s educational level to a large extent. Songs such as ‘Shueiche Guniang’ disseminated cultural values and openly encouraged farmers to aspire to other professions.

In her biography, the *nakasi* singer Su Siou-yun, mentioned that her father preferred working in Taipei to farming, even when the work he did was collecting bottles, tins and papers for recycling. The song ‘Shoujiougan (Collecting Bottles)’ (see Example 5.8), written by Jhang Ciou Dong-song in 1946, describes the job of bottle collecting in detail, along the lines of what Su’s father did, and it became a signal song used by genuine bottle collectors to attract residents’ attentions. In 1989, the singer Ye Ci-tian released ‘Youjiougan Tongmaiwu (Are There any Bottles to Sell?)’, which had a similar content. Despite the fact that forty years had passed, it seems that the life of the lowest social stratum of Taiwanese society had not changed

much. Su Siou-yun remembered that her family of five members shared a single room for everything and were even too poor to afford a stove. The room was smaller than 10 square metres and, with no water and no electricity, the family turned to gathering rain water for washing purposes. Her mother found a job as a maid to a Chinese immigrant who lived in a large house and sometimes generously provided meals for the children. Since the family was so poor, her parents gave her younger sister away in exchange for 30 *chelunbing* (a kind of mince pie) and she spent much of her childhood scavenging for discarded vegetables in the market, fish and offal in the slaughterhouse, and recyclable objects from the dump (Syu 2010: 24-34). From her account we can identify two significant points: first of all, the Chinese immigrants were rich in comparison to the Taiwanese; and secondly, a life of extreme poverty in Taipei was regarded as preferable to a hard farming life in the countryside.

Example 5.8: Shoujiougan (Collecting Bottles)

| | |
|------------|---|
| 阮是十三兒啊單 | I am a 13-year old boy. |
| 自細父母趙真散 | My parents have left me to my own devices since I was little. |
| 為著生活不敢懶 | I can't be lazy because of the realities of life. |
| 每日出去收酒罇 | I go out to collect bottles every day. |
| 有酒罇通賣無 | Are there any bottles to sell? |
| 歹銅舊錫薄啊紙通賣無 | Any copper or other metal or paper you want to sell? |
| 每日透早著出門 | I go out early every morning, |
| 家家戶戶去加問 | To ask for bottles house by house. |
| 不敢笨怠四界嬉 | I can't be lazy and go off to play, |
| 就是打拼顧三頓 | Because I have to work for a living. |
| ... | |

Another song, 'Tianjhuang Syongge (A Farmer)' (see Example 5.9), written by Ye Jyun-lin in 1964, demonstrates that farming was no longer in favour with the

younger generation by openly criticising aspects of farming life. Here, the young person singing the song expresses a desire to leave the old traditional ways and join the modern world.

Example 5.9: Tianjhuang Syongge (A Farmer)

| | |
|------------|---|
| 噢 不願擱鼻田庄土味 | Oh, I don't want to smell the stench of the farm, |
| 所以要來再會啦 | So, I am going to say good bye. |
| 趁著機會 趁著機會 | Grasp the opportunity! Grasp the opportunity! |
| 火車載阮要去啲 | The train is taking me away. |
| ... | |
| 來去都市若趁有錢 | If I can earn money in the city, |
| 我會返來啲 | I will come back. |
| ... | |
| 噢 不願擱騎犁田水牛 | Oh, I don't want to ride a buffalo for farming, |
| 所以決定再會啦 | So, I decide to say good bye. |
| ... | |
| 噢 不願擱聽水蛙咯咯 | Oh, I don't want to hear the sound of frogs, |
| 所以暫時再會啦 | So, I say goodbye to you for the moment. |
| ... | |
| 已經到台北 | Already I've arrived in Taipei. |

As mentioned earlier, the Taiwanese peasants were not the principal beneficiaries from the economic reforms and land policies, and other policies conspired to make their economic condition even worse. Multiple taxes including land tax, national security defence and education donations were demanded and levied on rice or cash. Between 1953 and 1965, although the rice price went up less than 20% (under the control of the government), the farmers' land tax increased by more than three times and, by 1966, the total income tax for farmers was over four times higher than taxation for non-farming families. Another investigation in the mid-1970s identified that famers were also obliged to pay extortionate water rates (Chen 1995: 129-131).

It is undeniable that imbalance between supply and demand costs caused difficulties in the lives of the farmers, and that this was the desired effect.

Yet another policy that had a strong negative impact on the farmers' welfare was the 'Fertiliser and Rice Bartering' policy, which was first introduced by the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office in 1946. This stipulated that farmers had to exchange a proportion of their harvested rice for fertiliser, in accordance with a fixed rate of exchange determined by the government. The exchange rate was one kilogram of rice to one kilogram of fertiliser (1:1) from 1950 to 1960, and 1:0.85 in 1967. These ratios contrasted dramatically with the international average market prices for rice and fertiliser, which equated to the ratio of 1:3.5 in 1960. This harsh policy, which the former president Li Teng-huei has critiqued in depth, Li Teng-huei openly stated: "The government meant to suppress the farmers' income in order to transfer the labour force from agriculture to the industrial sector" (Chen 1995: 132, my trans.), was not abolished until 1973 (New Taiwan website accessed in Jan. 2011; Encyclopedia of Taiwan website accessed in Jan. 2011; see also Knapp 1971: 139).

The various farming-related policies instigated by the government conspired to make rural life intolerable for many and, as we have seen, the mass migration to the cities conspired to make success in the urban centres a major challenge. Inevitably, many people found themselves in an insecure predicament, positioned between these two states. The fear of failure has been discussed before (in Chapter Four) – but it is evident that some songs actually embrace the real-life predicament of unrealised aspirations, when migrants had to return home in a state of dishonor. For instance, the song 'Yijaio Popisiang (An Old Damaged Suitcase)' (see Example 5.10) written by Ye Jyun-lin in 1969, concerns a young man who originally moved to

the city with dreams of money and a proud home-coming, but who now faces returning with his suitcase in a battered state. The song clearly expresses the disappointment that was, in reality, experienced by many thousands.

Example 5.10: Yijiao Popisiang (An Old Damaged Suitcase)

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 扞一腳的紅皮箱 | I took my red suitcase, |
| 流浪著海角天邊 | and travelled here and there. |
| 到今日想要叨返去 | Until today, I wanted to go home. |
| 因何心稀微 | Bur why am I now depressed? |
| 彼當時離開故鄉 | I'm thinking of the time I left my home town, |
| 希望會得出頭天 | Hoping I would succeed. |
| 誰知我身邊只有一腳破皮箱 | Now – who knows why? – all I have is my old damaged, suitcase. |
| 一腳破皮箱 | Old, damaged suitcase. |

These song lyrics focus on the transformation of the suitcase, from its original red colour – red traditionally symbolising prosperity – to its eventual damaged state. The suitcase is obviously a metaphor for the man himself. Other songs considering the destinies of these failed individuals often highlight that a life of crime was a frequent and undesirable outcome; many turned towards gangster lives in preference to returning home in a state of dishonor. The songs ‘Woyao Zuohaozih (I will be a Good Man)’ and ‘Jyuesin Zuohaozih (Determined to be a Good Man)’ (see Example 5.11) advise against this:

Example 5.11: Jyuesin Zuohaozih (Determined to be a Good Man)

| | |
|---------|---|
| ... | |
| 離開故鄉來出外 | I left home for other places. |
| 前途茫茫愛拖磨 | There is uncertainty and suffering in the future. |
| ... | |
| 誰人來同情 | Who has sympathy |

| | |
|---------|--|
| 我流浪的生活 | For my vagrant life? |
| ... | |
| 腳踏實地做好子 | I will change myself back into a good man, |
| 重新做人給你看 | I'll improve myself and show you. |
| ... | |
| 決心來做好子 | I am determined to be a good man. |

From this Chapter's analysis of the lyrics of Taiwanese-language popular songs, we can see that neither the Taiwanese farmers (maintaining the old rural ways of life) nor the urban workers (moving into modern ways of life) improved their social status, and many people in both of these groups failed to improve their situations. The Chinese Nationalist government's policies regarding industrialisation and farming aimed to increase the cheap and literate labour force in the cities in order to accelerate the progress of Taiwan's social transformation from agriculture to industrialisation. The song texts show that the transition was a major challenge for those without the necessary educational and cultural background and clearly demonstrate that the majority of the lower status workers were Taiwanese; the texts reveal (and promote) stereotypes about Taiwanese behavior and character.

5.3 Musical structure

I have suggested so far that the complexity of Taiwanese society is reflected in the lyrics of popular songs, so that the structure of Taiwanese-language popular songs can be seen to hold up a mirror to the life of Taiwanese people over a period of considerable social change from the 1950s to the 1980s. Each song offers a coherent narrative that is rich in interpretative possibilities when seen in this context. This embodiment of the daily life of ordinary Taiwanese people has been shown in three ways: (i) in the titles of the songs (these are, of course, an important indicator; but

this is not the case in the genre of Chinese-language popular song); (ii) in the structural coherence of each verse; and (iii) in the contrasts created between different styles of delivery (for example, the use of dialogue and the contrast between singing voice and spoken voice).

One can get a very precise and immediate image of what a Taiwanese-language popular song is going to say from its title. For example, the song ‘Shaorouzhong’ is ostensibly about selling *rouzhong*, and from its title you might get the impression that it is simply about a life of selling *rouzhong*, which might be interesting, but on the other hand it might also be about suffering. This is borne out by the lyrics. In the song ‘Rensheng (Life)’, for example, (see Example 5.12) sung by Ye Ci-tian and released in 1978, one can know pretty clearly what the content of the song will be about. The title indicates that this song ‘Rensheng’ is about how to face up to the course of life and how to deal with one’s feelings and experiences, and furthermore the end of the song may offer encouragement or advice to the listener. The lyrics of the song ‘Rensheng’ bear out the image created by the title, and also exemplify this in their structure:

Example 5.12: Rensheng (Life)

| | |
|---------|--|
| 人生怨嘆無路用 | Complaining about life is useless: |
| 誰人無家庭 | Everybody has a family to look after. |
| 境遇好歹誰同情 | Who will be concerned with your good or bad fortune? |
| 自己愛分明 | You need to understand this. |

Now let us turn to more specific structural issues about these songs – how they are constructed. I shall first consider the structure of typical lyric forms in these songs, before turning to a discussion of the broader musical structures.

Structurally, the vast majority of Taiwanese-language popular songs contain three verses, constructed to give a clear and simple narrative, telling a story which arranges the progression of the events in a simple temporal sequence. Each of the three verses will often follow a temporal pattern of verse 1 (morning), verse 2 (afternoon), and verse 3 (evening); or sometimes on a larger temporal scale the sequence is that of past, present and future, with verse 1 (last year), verse 2 (this year), verse 3 (next year). The song ‘Cuocaoge (Cut Grass)’ is an example of this pattern. The arrangement of each verse is connected with the daily time cycle that expresses and defines the life of a farmer. Verse 1 starts with the break of dawn; with verse 2 the sun is high in the sky; and then by verse 3 it is the time for the farmer to take a break for a meal. Another song ‘Yilian Sihjing (Missing My Lover)’ illuminates the larger temporal scale. This song portrays the progression of love through the metaphor of the cycle of the seasons: the first verse describes the feeling of falling love as the feeling of spring; the second verse comes to the blissful time of love as if in summer; and eventually the third verse ends with the breaking up of the relationship, which is compared to the sadness that comes with the unsettled weather of autumn.

Alternatively, the sequence of the three verses sometimes follows a spatial logic, with movement between particular geographical locations. A good example of this latter case is the song ‘Tianjhuang Syongge (A Farmer)’ (see Example 5.9), which exemplifies how story-like Taiwanese-language popular song is by delineating the movement between the cities of Tainan, via Taichung, to Taipei, a journey that progresses through Taiwan from the South, through the centre of the country, to the North. The first verse of the song says that the train has arrived Tainan (South of Taiwan), following the second verse where the train stops at Taichung (the middle of

Taiwan), to the third verse where the train finally arrives in Taipei (North of Taiwan). This kind of narrative structure is typical of the lyric writer Ye Jyun-lin, author of the lyrics of more than 8,000 Taiwanese-language popular songs. However, these story-like characteristics can be traced back to the time of Japanese colonial rule. ‘Sihgihong (The Song of Four Seasons)’ and ‘Yueyechou (The Flowers in the Rain during the Night)’ written in the 1930s had already come to typify the narrative tendency of Taiwanese-language popular song, and they seem to have become the models for future song writers in this tradition. I suggest that this narrative characteristic to some extent results from the traditional Taiwanese opera form known as *gezihsi*, as this was the most common art form made available for the entertainment of the masses in the Taiwanese society of the period of Japanese rule. Indeed, the popularity of *gezihsi* lasted right up to the late 1970s.

Third among these salient elements that constitute the narrative characteristics of Taiwanese-language popular song is the use of different styles of delivery, in particular through the use of dialogue. Dialogue appears in Taiwanese-language popular songs in two distinct ways: (a) with the use of the spoken voice at the beginning of the song, between the verses, or the end of the song, but where the singer actually sings the verses themselves; or (b) as a conversation with the singer in which the singer sings one sentence of the song and the next sentence is spoken as a reply, either by the singer him- or herself using the spoken voice, or, as is most frequently the case, by a different voice altogether. In the case of (a), the spoken dialogue (for example, spoken by the singer him/herself) is employed to provide more narrative detail in order to intensify the emotional impact on the listener; on the other hand, when all the dialogue involves a division into two roles, and where the dialogue has been done by the singer alone, then the singer changes his or her voice

in order to portray the two different roles, or by the singer and the other (often a man). While in case (b) some of the dialogue divides into two roles, usually a conversation between a man and a woman (which will be the singer and the voice of an actor taking the other talking part). The language utilised in the songs has an everyday conversational tone which is not embellished, sometimes to the point of rudeness. The song ‘Jiounyumeng (A Courtesan’s Dream)’ (see Example 5.13) (CD track 11) uses dialogue to describe what is happening when the courtesan is serving a male customer. This song has the usual three verses and there are three sections of dialogue interwoven in the song, coming at the end of each verse.

Example 5.13: Jiounyumeng (A Courtesan’s Dream)

Verse 1:

Woman (singing) 目屎滴落胸前 Tears drop down

...

Man (speaking) 喂! 查某無歡喜是否? Hey, woman, are you unhappy?

叫妳陪酒面憂憂, 什麼意思? You look sad when I ask you to drink. How dare you!

Woman (speaking) 無啦無啦, 失禮否, No, no, sorry

失禮否人客官失禮否 Sorry, sir, sorry.

Woman (singing) 雖然心內悲哀 Although I am sad

不敢給人知 I cannot show it to anyone

Verse 2:

Woman (singing) 靜靜五更思君 I miss my lover in the late night.

...

Man (speaking) 喂! 查某來來來 Hey, woman, come on,

咱來乾一杯好否? Let’s have a glass of wine?

Woman (speaking) 好好! 多謝多謝! OK, OK, thanks, thanks.

我嗎敬你一杯 This one is to you.

Woman (singing) 手捧悲敬人客 A glass of wine to serve a man

甲伊飲一杯 and to drink with him.

Verse3:

Woman (singing)...

...

Man (speaking) 小姐! 妳是有心事是否? Miss, do you have something on your mind that is making
you unhappy?

請妳講出來我替妳排解 Please tell me. I'll try to help you.

Woman (speaking) 無無! 無什麼心事 No, no, I have nothing on my mind.

來! 咱來喝酒 Come, let's drink.

Woman (singing)...

Another song 'Kelian Shaojiousian (A Man Who Loves Drinking)' (see Example 5.14) (CD track 12) utilises dialogue as a communication between a man and his wife to reveal how this man loves alcohol and his wife refuses to let him drink. This song portrays a typical picture of a Taiwanese couple and their ordinary everyday life.

Example 5.14: Kelian Shaojiousian (A Man Who Loves Drinking)

| | | |
|------------------|------------|---|
| Man (singing): | 心愛的 | My darling! |
| Wife (speaking): | 怎樣 | What? |
| Man (singing): | 可憐著我噃 | Poor me! |
| Wife (speaking): | 是多可憐 | How poor are you? |
| Man (singing): | 一日無酒 | I haven't had a drink all day. |
| Wife (speaking): | 無酒怎樣 | You haven't had a drink? So what! |
| Man (singing): | 抹輕鬆噃 | I don't feel well! |
| Wife (speaking): | 抹曉去喝水道水 | You can drink tap water. |
| Man (singing): | 希望妳愛相信噃 | I hope you believe me! |
| Wife (speaking): | 這種話聽很多啦 | I've heard it all before. |
| Man (singing): | 無飲酒抹曉賺錢 | I don't know how to make money if I don't have a drink. |
| Wife (speaking): | 你擱甲你祖媽講壹句啦 | You're a waste of time! |
| Man (singing): | 希望妳 | I was hoping you ... |
| Wife (speaking): | 免講 | No way! |

From this examination of the significance of song titles, song structures, and their use of dialogue, it is obvious that these three features constitute the narrative character of Taiwanese-language popular song. But how about the music itself? The general view from people involved in the Taiwanese popular music industry is that Taiwanese-language popular songs have retained musical traits from songs in Japanese, not only from the colonial period of Japanese rule, but also from Japanese *enka* of the post-war period right up to the late 1970s, in spite of the ban on Japanese imports during part of this period.³ Although this was inevitable for those songs that were covers of Japanese songs, even for non-covers, Taiwanese-language singers often emulated the *enka*'s distinctive singing style in particular, with its highly emotional delivery. Interestingly, a large number of Chinese-language popular songs were also produced in the same way at this time, but no commentators appear to acknowledge that Chinese-language popular songs were similarly influenced by the Japanese music industry. These different views on popular music on each side of the language divide may result from the different political, cultural, and social backgrounds of each side and may also have been shaped to a considerable extent by the different ideological interests of each group. Now, let us return to the discussion of Taiwanese-language popular song. Even though Taiwanese-language popular songs tended to borrow heavily from Japanese-language popular songs during this period, their music had been rearranged to such an extent that enables us to examine their musical structure in terms that can shed light on their relevance to Taiwanese society.

³ In addition to the strong influence of *enka*, it is important to acknowledge that Taiwanese-language popular song contains plenty of traditional musical elements from genres such as *gezisi* and Taiwanese folk song.

The musical structure of Taiwanese-language popular songs can be understood as being made up vertically of four layers. The vocal line is the leading part, supported by three other instrumental layers as follows:

Vocal

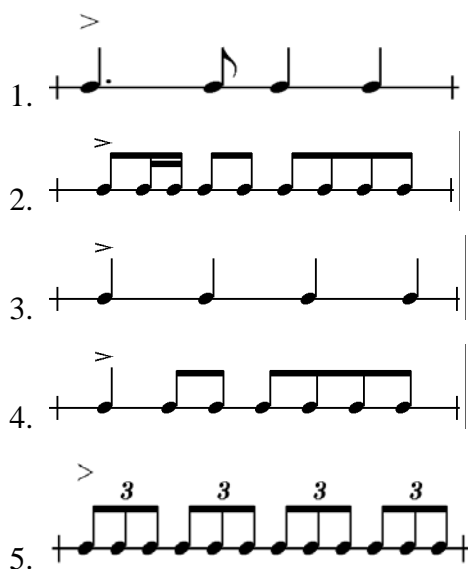
Brass and/or strings

Electric guitar

Drum kit and bass

The instrumental lines follow the vocal melody and the main features of its rhythmic characteristics. The overall rhythmic pattern of these four layers is unified, and it rarely changes even during the interludes. That is to say, the vocal line and the instrumental lines do not interact with each other, nor are the instruments used in a complementary way to emphasise the emotion of the songs. During the development of the vocal line, the brass/string and electric guitar parts may pause or play quietly, but they then usually join in and play loudly at the end of each phrase (that is to say, usually at the end of each four-bar phrase, although sometimes at the end of three- or even two-bar phrases). At these points the drummer will play a bridge passage to show off his skill and to provide variety and colour. The final bar of each phrase normally contains only one note in the vocal line which is then immediately taken up and extended for the rest of the bar by the brass and/or string parts. The brass or strings then take the leading position to play the melodic line in the prelude, interludes or postlude. The brass/strings and electric guitar hardly play as an independent rhythmic unit, the rhythm of Taiwanese-language popular song essentially depending on the drum kit or other percussion which do not essentially

deviate greatly from the rhythm of the vocal line. The five main rhythmic patterns very often used are as follows:



Every Taiwanese-language popular song during the focal period employed very similar instrumentation. For brass instruments, the saxophone and trumpet were favoured; the main string instrument was, of course, the violin; and others such as the accordion and the tambourine were also often used. The piano and woodwind instruments were rarely adopted. The use of this instrumentation can be seen to relate to the Taiwanese music education system, within which march music and its associated instruments took pride of place from primary school level upwards. It is noticeable that the instrumentalists played in a simple way, and the fingering of each instrument was not complex. Within the overall musical structure the prelude was commonly longer than the interludes and the postlude, in that it contained anything from 8 to 20 bars and its melody was treated as a derivation from the vocal line of the verse; the length of the interlude was frequently from 8 to 12 bars, and, with

some exceptions, the postlude tended to be very short (between 2 to 4 bars). The arrangements were much the same for each verse and the interludes.

Prelude

Verse 1

Interlude 1

Verse 2 (the music is much the same as for verse 1)

Interlude 2 (the music is much the same as for interlude 1)

Verse 3 (the music is much the same as for verse 1)

Postlude

What emerges from this discussion is that the musical structure of Taiwanese-language popular songs from this period was very simple. Music is a product of human behaviour and, therefore, it is logical to assume that musical organisation is related to social organisation and also to world view. Alan Lomax's work provides innumerable examples of correlation between musical and social structure and, in connection with musical mirroring of cosmological outlook, Kaemmer provides the good example of cyclical traits within classical Indian music relating to Hinduism; within Hinduism, life is conceived of as a cycle of reincarnation where one repeatedly enters another state of existence following death and this quality can also be perceived with classical Indian musical performance (see Lomax 1968; Kaemmer, cited Connell and Gibson 2003: 23). In the case of Taiwanese-language popular song, simplicity of structure and content can be related to aspects of traditional Taiwanese agricultural life; although many of the musical features had their origins in Japanese and Western popular culture, it is possible to hypothesise that the Taiwanese people and music producers naturally tended towards the adoption of especially simple and predictable structures because these correlated with the simple and predictable

structures encountered in their own lives. The life of the farmer is dictated by routine and this is particularly the case in places where seasons and weather are relatively predictable, as is the case in Taiwan.

5.4 Listeners' tastes and locality

Taiwanese-language popular song is not only intimately associated with specific ethnicity, tastes, and stereotyped life-styles and values but also with locality. As I discussed in Chapter One, Taiwanese-language popular song has a long history stretching right back into the period of Japanese colonial rule. However, following the advent of Chinese Nationalist rule and mass Chinese immigration, from the 1950s onwards, politically- and educationally- enforced changes in people's fundamental cultural values led to parallel changes in listeners' tastes, which shifted from Taiwanese-language popular song to the newly-founded repertoires of Chinese-language popular song. Taiwanese-language popular song, just like the Taiwanese speakers themselves, became regarded as 'inferior' within the new system of cultural values. Meanwhile, locality itself has become associated with cultural stereotypes and values – to the extent that there is a general view shared in present-day Taiwanese society that Taiwanese-language popular song is far more popular with people living in the South of Taiwan.

Numerous studies focus on how popular music is consumed. These studies examine listeners' behaviour and attitudes, and how the meaning of popular music has been constituted, reflected, and interpreted through its consumption. Clarifying the patterns and effects of consumption, Hearn and Roseneil claim that "consumption not only takes place within culture and thus within specific cultures; it also produces culture and cultures ... consumption is part of and contributes to the wider culture of

a given society or social group; ... it produces cultures and local sub-cultures centred around consumption and acts of consuming” (Hearn and Roseneil 1999: 1). They go further, suggesting that “studies of consumption and culture are enlivened by examining the relevance of power and resistance. This applies ... in considering consumption as one of the major ways in which social and societal inequality is experienced, reproduced and represented, by age, class, gender, racialisation, and other social divisions” (ibid: 5). Peter Saunders concludes that consumption can be seen as a “new and crucial aspect of stratification” and consequently, it may be able to be explained as “patterns of political alignment and patterns of economic privilege and cultural advantage” (Gurney 1999: 43). The behaviour of consumption, therefore, can identify one’s social class, gender, age, and ethnicity.

It is obvious that one’s tastes in popular music are informed by the tastes of others within the same shared immediate local community: particular styles will naturally take root in particular places. Andy Bennett emphasises that locality is a key determinant of taste and consumption patterns: “[the term] *local* is used as a means of conceptualizing... processes of production and consumption in the context of specific urban and rural settings... The term *local* in popular music studies has provided valuable information on the significance of music in everyday life ... [where] the local [is perceived]... as a ‘fixed’ space underpinned by commonly acknowledged social discourse” (Bennett 2000: 52). In popular music research, discussion of locality is mainly concentrated within studies of diasporic musical styles, focusing on particular ethnic groups who have brought their music to new homelands, and thereafter adapt their cultural practices to represent their new identities; so, for example, locality is addressed within studies of reggae among Jamaicans and rap among Afro-Americans (see Chang and Chen 1997; Sullivan

2003:605-622; Bennett 2000: 53-62).

Issues relating to locality are also addressed in popular music scholarship pertaining to orientalism and perceptions of the 'other'. For example, Martin Stokes provides examples of how westerners perceive the 'orient', concluding that music is a powerful force in determining how people perceive specific localities that they have little actual experience of: "The 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary. They also organize hierarchies of a moral and political order... Clearly, these musical images do not just reflect knowledge of 'other place' but perform them in significant ways" (Stokes 1991: 3-5). Other studies examine how people absorb musical elements from globalised forms into their own music-making, to create 'glocalised' musical culture – which is discussed, for example in respect to the development of Japanese-language rap in Japan (Iwabuchi 2002, Manabe 2006: 1-36). There are also a number of ethnomusicological studies that examine the development of local styles in reference to 'National' styles and other regional styles – for example, in regards to popular musical developments in Indonesia and Colombia (Baredregt and Zanten 2002: 67-113, Wade 1998: 1-19). In short, then, it is apparent that many branches of music research have turned to examining the intersection between global and local forms.

Adorno differentiates two types of listeners in relation to musical consumption. Taking their cues from Adorno, David Riesman divides listeners into majority listeners and minority listeners while Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel extend these perspectives to recast the two groups as younger and older generations (cited from Negus 1996: 11-14). In the case of Taiwan, it is certainly possible to see a clear divide in music consumption tendencies between older and younger generation listeners. An LP collector nicknamed Lao-wu, who runs a restaurant in Taipei and

who has collected more than forty thousand LPs (which he has made available for customers' listening requests), explained to me that youngsters were interested in a diversity of musical forms regardless of ethnicity; in stark contrast, the older generation more often listened only to popular songs in their mother tongue. The evidence supports Lao-wu's observation. So, for example, the clientele of so-called 'red envelope' places, who are mainly retired soldiers of Chinese immigrant origin and over 70 years of age, expect to hear Chinese-language popular songs in their favourite venues (*United Evening News* April 11, 2009). In contrast, the younger generation is more flexible, with diverse fashions coming and going almost regardless of language comprehensibility – a point that quickly emerged during many interviews with younger people. For example, Korean pop songs are extremely popular even though the words are not understood.

In order to examine the relationship between Taiwanese-language popular song and its locality, I shall employ Adorno and Riesman's practice of dividing listeners into groups – but here I shall not consider generations in any further depth. Although Adorno and Riesman were both addressing rather different social contexts from that addressed here, their practice is equally applicable and beneficial in the case of Taiwan. In this case, listeners can be divided according not only to class, generation, and ethnicity but also locality – and I shall focus particularly on two specific groups of listeners: those living in Taipei (the urban centre in the North of Taiwan) and those living in Chiayi (an agricultural centre in the South).

In Taiwan, society is generally perceived as being constituted of three classes, delineated by income, occupation, power and education, although it is also possible to subdivide these into additional strata. Marsh, for example, isolates six different classes in contemporary Taiwan – upper, upper middle, middle, lower middle,

working and lower class – arguing that, in Taiwan, education is the key factor for identifying class (Marsh 2003: 37-59). Marsh's findings suggest, therefore, that education level may well correlate with popular music tastes. In order to test this and also determine to what extent locality is another key determinant, I interviewed people involved in the music business to explain the relationships between class, locality, and preference (either for Taiwanese- or Chinese- language song). In addition, in the summer of 2009, I conducted questionnaires with adult passers-by (aged over 45) in the street in both Taipei and Chiayi, to establish statistic evidence regarding these correlations.

The questionnaire survey I conducted clearly revealed that better-educated people tended to be accepting of both Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular songs; in fact, all of the informants who had attended university claimed to listen to both. In their comfortable un-conflicted predicaments, these people's choices were not predicated issues relating to ethnicity. In confirmation of this, one of my interviewees, Liou, told me that the makeup of customers' listening to *nakasi* (see Chapter One) was very varied, ranging from high-ranking businessmen and politicians all the way down to labourers; according to him, the high-status individuals seemed to enjoy the Taiwanese language songs as much as the labourers did. Meanwhile, my questionnaire revealed that people who had left education early (following primary school) tended to prefer popular songs in their mother tongue, largely because they were rarely able to understand the Chinese lyrics; in fact, all of the informants who were illiterate claimed to listen exclusively to Taiwanese-language songs. This indicates that education is essential in enabling individuals to enter both worlds of popular song.

My questionnaires demonstrated that the same correlations between

education-level and listening preference existed in both Taipei and Chiayi. However, it emerged that among people of moderate education-level, who had left school after secondary or high school without attending university, in Chiayi, a significantly larger proportion listened only to Taiwanese-language songs: 13.7% in Chiayi, compared to 7.1% in Taipei. So, in conjunction with education level, age, and ethnicity, locality is evidently an important contributing factor in determining listening preferences. In short, Taiwanese-language songs are more embedded in Southern Taiwanese culture.

The singer Jheng Rih-cing concurred with the questionnaire results and also affirmed that there was a real basis to the aforementioned stereotypes, explaining that he found the singers of Taiwanese-language popular song to be more popular in the South of Taiwan, and that when they performed at singing halls in the South, the audiences tended to be more passionate and enjoy the shows more. The song writer and producer H. also emphasised Taiwanese-language songs' stronger associations with the South; in reply to my question, "Did Chinese-language popular song dominate the record market?" he said, "Not really. In fact, Taiwanese-language popular song seemed to be very popular as a sub-genre enjoyed by workers, labourers and proletarians, especially in the South of Taiwan." Meanwhile, the singer Ye Ci-tian described how some singing halls, especially in the South of Taiwan, such as 'Nanye Geting (Nanye Singing Hall)' in Taichung and 'Lanbaoshih Geting (Lanbaoshih Singing Hall)' in Kaoshing, only invited singers of Taiwanese-language popular song to perform; that was the repertoire which the audience wanted to hear. The singer Siou-lan, who specialized in Chinese-language song, mentioned that she was actually obliged to sing Taiwanese-language songs whenever she performed in the South of Taiwan (TTV Weekly 1978: 32). Accordingly, it was generally the case

that the posters advertising Singing Hall concerts in the South of Taiwan listed the Taiwanese-language singers first, above the Chinese-language singers (Lin 2002: 100-104). While Chinese-language singers such as Fong Fei-fei and Cui Tai-cing were extremely popular throughout the whole of Taiwan, some Taiwanese-language singers found that their fan-base was particularly concentrated in the South; for example, whenever Huang Si-tian performed at singing halls in Kaoshing, they were always full up (TV Guide 1979: 148). It seems clear therefore, from interviews, questionnaires, and other sources, that personal preferences regarding song language were intimately related to locality.

5.5 The social position of women

To establish a more complete picture of how Taiwanese society has been depicted through the medium of song, I will now turn to investigate how women's social roles have been represented in popular song and, through analysis of song texts, ascertain to what extent the songs sought to challenge or affirm existing values. Men had always played a principal role in the genre of Taiwanese-language popular song, where the songs discussed men's feelings, emotions, responsibilities in the family, society, and workplace, and their responses to social demands. But what about women? Women did play their part during this period of social transformation, and their role in Taiwanese society was no less important than that of men.

Although there are a great many studies which focus on the musical tastes and behaviors of men, examining how male ideals are expressed through music's medium (for example, Bennett 2000: 21), there is a growing body of research that focuses instead on the tastes and music-related behavior of women, following strong leadership from pioneering scholars such as Susan McClary (1993: 399-423). These

studies generally examine how practices either affirm or contest existing inter-gender relations – for example, in reference to the songs of Madonna (Lugo-Ligo 2001: 118-130; Vernallis 1998: 135-186), *kd lang* (Valentine 1995: 474-485), female singers in Japan (Stanlaw 2000: 75-100), the Japanese popular song genre of *enka* (Yano 2000: 60-74), frame-drum performance in the Middle East (Doubleday 1999: 101-134), or traditional music-making in Croatia (Ceribašić 2003: 152-153). Some women-and-music scholarship – for example the referenced works of Doubleday and Ceribašić – explicitly relate to the widespread association of performing women with sexuality.

Most studies concerned with men or with how the masculine is formed have tended to investigate men's relationships to the external world from an exclusively male perspective (Strivastava 1991: 270-271) – how men look at women, what men's attitudes have been towards women, and how they treat their male counterparts. Here, women's perspectives regarding the masculine (or, for that matter, women's perspectives upon the feminine) are considered far less. In some cases, of course, the one-sided focus on male beliefs and practices appears justifiable. For example, in the case of Manuel Pena's study of the macho culture of Mexican workers in the United States (1991), the male-focus appears to mirror that of the subjects' own lives, as existing somewhat separately from the influence of women. Pena stayed in a factory as a participant worker to observe workers' lives and conversation, to examine the role played by folklore in the build of and characterization 'machismo'. He found that economic circumstances and class inequality served to intensify a sense of male superiority, with Mexican women viewed as unfaithful and untrustworthy, especially the Mexican women in the United States (Pena 1991: 30-40). However, in many other studies, the male-focus is less understandable.

The position of women in Taiwan both during the focal period and today appears to resemble the typical position of black women in American society, as discussed by Mae Gwendolyn Henderson: “The complex situatedness of the black woman as not only the ‘Other’ of the ‘Same’, but also as the ‘other’ of the other(s), implies, ... a relationship of difference and identification with the ‘other(s)’” (Henderson 1994: 259). Still today, it is clear that many Taiwanese women consider themselves to be the ‘others’ of the ‘others’. When the Taiwanese-language popular singer Jiang Huei gave her very first concert tour in 2008 (she had actually first appeared in public 25 years earlier in 1983), a large number of women in the audience cried when they heard her sing the song ‘Jiahou (Wife)’ (see Example 5.15):

Example 5.15: Jiahou (Wife)

| | |
|------------|---|
| 有一日咱若老 | When we are old one day, |
| 找無人甲咱友孝 | And no one takes care of us or shows us respect. |
| 我會陪你坐惦椅寮 | I will be company for you to sit on a bench, |
| 聽你講少年的時陣 | Listen to you say how great you were |
| 你有多驚 | When you were young. |
| 吃好吃醜無計較 | No matter what we eat, bad or good, |
| 怨天怨地也袂曉 | I never ever complain. |
| 你的手我會甲你牽條條 | I will hold your hand tightly, |
| 因為我是你的家後 | Because I am your wife. |
| 阮將青春嫁置恁兜 | I have devoted the years of my youth to your family, |
| 阮對少年跟你跟甲老 | I have been with you since I was young. |
| 人情世事已經看透透 | I already understand this world and this life very clearly. |
| 有嗰人比你卡重要 | Who is more important than you? |
| 阮的一生獻乎恁兜 | I have devoted the whole of my life to your family, |
| 才知幸福是吵吵鬧鬧 | I realise happiness is argument and brawling. |
| 等待返去的時陣若到 | When the time to go finally arrives, |
| 我會讓你先走 | I will let you go first. |
| 因為我會嘸甘 | Because I will be upset and would not be happy to see |

Female members of the audience also sang along with the song while Jiang Huei was singing it, no matter what their age was. Why is this song extremely popular? Messages posted on the internet may be able to answer this question: “This song is like an anthem for Taiwan (how great the women are)”; “I cry every time when I hear it, I never get bored, no matter how many times I have heard it”; “No one is more important than you, the true love.” From these messages we can understand that this song successfully projected a number of female values.

Before the period of major social transformations – the 1950s to 1980s – Taiwanese women’s social position was lower than that of men. It was a generally held view in Taiwanese society that women were unable to be independent and that they had to rely on their parents, and this idea still continues to be conveyed to the masses. For example, there are a number of traditional aphorisms, such as ‘*Sanzong Sihde*’ and ‘*Nyuzih Wucai Bianshihde*’, dictating how women should conduct themselves, and how they should act at home and in society. ‘*Sanzong Sihde*’ is a set of rules and a guide for women on how to behave, dictating that everything they do should conform to the expectations of their parents, brothers, and husbands, and that they should take responsibility for the education and care of their children. Along similar lines, ‘*Nyuzih Wucai Bianshihde*’ tells women how they should respect their parents-in-law and take good care of their children. The song ‘Zumude Hua (Advice from Grandmother)’ (see Example 5.16), written by the male singer-songwriter Liou Fu-jhu in 1969, alludes to these expectations:

Example 5.16: Zumude Hua (Advice from Grandmother)

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 做人的媳婦著知道理 | To be a daughter-in-law you have to know the doctrine: |
| 晏晏去睡著早早起 | Go to bed late, and get up early. |
| 又攞煩惱天未光 | You have to worry about the dawn that has not yet arrived, |
| 又攞煩惱鴨無卵 | And whether the ducks have not yet laid an egg. |
| 煩惱小姑要嫁無嫁妝 | The younger sister-in-law has no dowry when she is getting married, |
| 煩惱小叔要娶無眠床 | The younger brother-in-law has no bed when he is getting married. |

This song reveals precisely the kind of expectations faced by a married woman in traditional Taiwanese society: she has to take care of everything for her husband's family including not only her husband and her children, but also domestic work, parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. Although this song was actually written by a male songwriter, I have observed how most mothers will transmit the same messages to their daughters regarding the attitude they should adopt once married. In Taiwanese society, following marriage, the woman tends to find herself in a subordinate position, under the control of every member of her husband's family.

One of my interviewees who is in her late 30s (- for her privacy I shall use 'F' instead of her actual name), told me that on one occasion her mother-in-law blamed her for something in front of her husband and her father-in-law; in return F said nothing and just went outside. Sometime later, her grandmother-in-law came out to tell her: "You are a '*sifu* (daughter-in-law)' so you can't react like this. So, let's go into the house." F replied: "I know I am a *sifu*. That's why I kept quiet and said nothing when she blamed me." F refused to enter to the house again on that occasion as she felt she had been treated unfairly. But she was not allowed to shout back, or to explain herself. This is a particularly interesting case because, in the general perception, F held a much higher social status than her mother-in-law; she was a

university-trained professional while her mother-in-law remained uneducated and illiterate. In interview with me, F explained further:

Q: Can you tell me what happened?

A: Nothing important really. My son did not want to eat his meal and she was encouraging him to leave it while I was insisting that he eat it.

Q: It happened only because of this small thing?

A: Yes, but I think there is something else that she is not happy about with me. For example, they told me I have to call my husband's uncle and aunt 'great-uncle' and 'great-aunt', but I never do. His uncles and aunts all live in the big cities, I don't understand why they still treat me like this.

Q: I don't quite understand...

A: They want me to address those relatives in the same way that my small son does. Why should I? It seems like I am nothing in his family. Yes, OK, I know I am an outsider in this family, and can never be a real member of this family. But I have work and I earn money to support myself. The world is different now. I think they need to see this new world.

Q: So, why don't you say something and speak up for yourself? Did your husband say anything in your support?

A: This is the problem. Both my husband and I can't say anything if we want to maintain family harmony; and if I argue with my mother-in-law, do you think my husband won't be angry with me? You see, there are social norms that strictly define the role of what a '*sifu*' should be.

This example shows us that the subjugation of women does not only come from men, but also from women themselves – and the deep-rooted idea that one's destiny (*renming*) cannot be avoided and must be accepted only serves to maintain the status quo. The lyrics of Taiwanese-language popular songs clearly illuminate the ways in which women are subjected to authority in Taiwanese society. A song like 'Cingkezihsao (The Oyster Seller's Wife)' (see Example 5.17) from 1965 exemplifies the typical opinion that a married woman should adjust her behaviour in accordance with that of her husband if the pair are to achieve happiness.

Example 5.17: Chigkezihsao (The Oyster Seller's Wife)

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 別人的阿君仔是穿西米囉 | Other women's husbands wear suits, |
| 阮的阿君是賣青蚶 | While my husband sells oysters. |
| 人人叫我青蚶嫂 | Everyone calls me auntie Oyster, |
| 要吃青蚶仔喂是免驚無 | I don't have to worry: I have oysters to eat. |
| ... | |
| 別人的阿君仔是帶西洋樓 | Other women's husbands live in good houses, |
| 阮的阿君是困土腳兜 | While my husband sleeps on the ground. |
| 運命好歹是無計較 | I don't need to complain about my fate, |
| 若有認真仔喂是會出頭 | I'll be successful if I work hard. |

The novel *Zaijian Tongnian*⁴, set in the late 1960s and early 1970s, tells the story of a girl Chun-hua who was given by her father to a violent gangster who loved gambling. Chun-hua's father also gambled and owed a lot of money that he was unable to pay, and this was the reason that he gave Chun-hua to this bad man. Chun-hua found herself in a horrible situation where her husband did not work and did not bring home money, while she had to take care of herself and her children (Lin 1989: 30). The situation of women, their subordinate position, and their lack of a voice in the family in Taiwan seems not to have changed much, even after the social transformation in the period covered by this dissertation. But what about single women workers? The transformations that swept throughout Taiwan, encouraging mass internal migration, affected women as well as men. The question remains: did these transformations promote changes in women's perceptions of themselves and men's perceptions of them.

A large number of Taiwanese-language popular songs concerning women incorporate the words 'jiounyu' or 'wunyu' in their titles – both words denoting female workers in the entertainment/sex industry. 'Jiounyu Aiyuan (The Sadness of a

⁴ See page 242.

Courtesan)’ (see Example 5.18) vividly depicts the type of unhappy situation faced by many in such professions:

Example 5.18: Jiounyu Aiyuan (The Sadness of a Courtesan)

| | |
|---------|---|
| 自從做著酒家女 | I have been a courtesan |
| 過了已經兩三年 | For two or three years. |
| ... | |
| 手捧一杯的燒酒 | I hold a glass of wine, |
| 想著心頭結歸球 | My heart is upset when I think of myself. |
| 燒酒那無飲落去 | If I don’t drink the wine, |
| 人客講我無誠意 | The male customer will blame me. |

Being a courtesan necessitates drinking wine with male customers and many *jiounyu* fall into ill health as a result. I personally know a number of *jiounyu* and all of them have explained to me that they originally entered the profession because they had little education (only six of nine years) and they needed to support their families. In Taiwan, girls were often regarded as a burden and people of the older generation were even disappointed when they heard they had just had a baby daughter. Until recently, many families chose not to educate their daughters beyond the minimum requirement, in keeping with the opinion that ‘a girl is a money-losing commodity’ (-another traditional proverb). A study from 1989 shows that far fewer girls entered university than boys in the 1960s and, even though conditions have improved since the 1980s, the number of girls in higher education is still lower than boys (Wu, Chen, and Wu 1989: 128).

Table 5.1: The ratio of boys to girls in university education (b:g) and the percentage of young people aged between 18-24 who attended university

| year | b:g | Total (%) |
|------|--------|-----------|
| 1960 | 3.78:1 | 3.1 |
| 1970 | 1.59:1 | 8.3 |
| 1980 | 1.31:1 | 10.5 |
| 1986 | 1.13:1 | 14.2 |

In a TV programme interview, the singer Jiang Huei recalled that she started to perform at the age of 10, when her family fled to Taipei in order to escape from debts. As the second child of the poverty-stricken family, her parents were not able to send her to school. Instead, she had to work to help her mother maintain a basic standard of living. She started off as a *nakasi* singing, working in Beitou spring inns, Jioujia⁵ bars, and Taipei clubs, singing songs to her own guitar accompaniment. She recalls that customers often gave her generous tips – because she was so little. Because she was so busy performing she did not complete her primary school education until she was 15 (TVBS News accessed in August 2010). Another *nakasi* singer, Su Siou-yun explained in her biography that the profession was especially challenging because, even with a lack of education, one still had to be able to sing songs in Taiwanese, Chinese, Cantonese, Japanese and English; most teenage girls were illiterate in the 1960s. Nevertheless, Su Siou-yun was criticised by her neighbours and husband because of her style of dress and working hours; she always left home around sunset and came back in the early hours. She often had to defend herself, saying: “I am the oldest child of my family. My family has no money. If I don’t give money to my mother, what will my younger siblings do?” (Syu 2010: 84-119). Evidently, women who worked in the entertainment industries were automatically associated with

⁵ The term ‘jioujia’ refers particularly to bars where men go to have a drink with courtesans.

prostitution, even if they were not involved in any sense – as is the case with Jiang Huei and Su Siou-yun.

Although it does not explore generation-specific attitudes towards female roles, Norma Diamond's investigation of women workers in a textile factory in Tainan (South of Taiwan) in 1970 clearly reveals that women continued to be controlled by those in authority – grandparents, parents, husbands and brothers – even when they had left the home place. From the 1950s onwards, women had more opportunities to receive more education, leave home and enter the industrial work market, and possess property. However, Diamond's study shows that they often continued to sacrifice their own welfare for the benefits of male siblings, husbands, and offspring – sending home their hard-earned money to advance the schooling and lives of male family members, who continued to embody the family's future hope. In this sense, then, the old patterns of gender relations were being perpetuated, with few experiencing an elevation of their own status within family and wider society. Diamond's report also reveals an interesting point: that the women did not complain about their life in the factory, continuing to regard their predicament as their destiny (*renming*). When Diamond asked the women what they wanted for their future, they replied that they hoped to marry a man from the white-collar class and raise children who would go abroad to study one day: their hopes were pinned on husbands and children rather than their own personal advancement (Diamond 1979: 317-340; see also Gallin R. 1984: 383-398). Most female singers of popular song also adhered to these values, embracing their destinies and sacrificing their careers following marriage; for example, this was the case with You Ya, Li Ya-fang and Lin Ying-mei (Tsai 2007: 71-95). In Taiwan's conservative society, the deeply-rooted set of universally-held values and norms of social behaviour were not eroded by changes in

the mode of production and mass migration. Clearly, women's status did not improve in conjunction with broader social transformations and their self-perceptions also appear to have remained unchanged; in short, they readily submitted to male domination. As Lorber states: "the continuing purpose of gender as a modern social institution is to construct women as a group to be subordinate to men as a group" (cited in Risman 2004: 430-431).

Conclusion

The imagery of Taiwanese-language popular song tells us that the tensions and the conflicts within Taiwanese society do not only come from a way of life caught between tradition and modernity; they are also a result of the unequal distribution of wealth. It is in particular the texts of Taiwanese-language popular song that have presented social realities to us, even if at times as stereotypes of the poverty of the Taiwanese people, the frustration of farmers in the villages, and the failure of labourers in the cities. These social realities clearly indicate that Taiwanese farmers and traditional agricultural areas are poor, and that by contrast cities, through industrialisation, are rich. The poor-rich inequity of wealth in Taiwan is also revealed through the reception and consumption of Taiwanese-language popular song and its relation to particular localities. This relationship demonstrates that there is an unbalanced economic development geographically within Taiwan. On the one hand, the South of Taiwan remains mainly an agricultural area; on the other, the North of Taiwan concentrates on the technical and service sectors. The musical structure of Taiwanese-language popular songs, their directness and their significant narrative character demonstrates the accuracy of this image, and stands in strong contrast to the Chinese-language songs, the lyrics of which are more literary, elevated and

sophisticated in character, and are more distanced from the everyday language of ordinary people. The structure of the Taiwanese-language songs is plain, unchanging, and simple; the lyrics are rough, unpolished and unsophisticated, and in this way, even apart from the stories they tell, they could be said to capture something of the 'tone' and texture of the everyday. More importantly, the poverty of Taiwanese farmers as revealed by Taiwanese-language songs is accepted and asserted by the Taiwanese themselves, just as the image of low social status and its association with the Taiwanese-speakers is accepted by the Chinese immigrants.

Another factor that has served to increase the degree of tension and conflict within Taiwanese society is the unequal rights between men and women. The social status of the Taiwanese had not been significantly improved during the period covered by this study, something that is clearly indicated in Taiwanese-language popular songs about women. The lyrics of the songs portray a picture of women's misery, the situation of Taiwanese women shows that that part of Taiwanese society remained firmly struck in a traditional way of life, while in contrast the situation of men shows that they were progressing towards a modern world. A contradiction, therefore, continued – and to an extent still continues – to underlie Taiwanese society.

The imagery of Taiwanese-language popular song has painted a picture of Taiwanese society which is impoverished, frustrating and disappointing. On the contrary, Chinese-language popular song demonstrates a bright, happy future that Taiwanese people may enjoy once they become 'Chinese'. Such differences revealed by the linguistic divide within popular song provide us with powerful sources to understand why there were such strong tensions and the conflicts within Taiwanese society at that time, and where they came from. It could well be said that these tensions and conflicts are still in evidence, and are also essentially those between

tradition and modernity and have over time become embedded as different cultural, social, economic, and political positions within the individuals and the ethnic/linguistic groups that make up Taiwanese society today.

In Conclusion: Globalisation, political divisions, and the revival of Taiwanese-language popular song

In the course of this study we have established how popular song in Taiwan reflects complex aspects of Taiwanese society, such as social class and national identity in the tensions and conflicts between the Chinese (Mandarin-speaking) immigrants (known as *uaishengren*) who came to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek and the Taiwanese peoples (known as *benshengren*) – tensions that you could say have now become internalised within individuals themselves as a conflict of identity. Furthermore, we have also indicated how this divide is at the same time a linguistic divide. In addition, we have attempted to show how the mass media, intellectuals, and the education system responded to shape a specifically Chinese cultural identity in part by disseminating and composing popular songs – something that could be seen as being part of a long history of identity change in the context of colonisation that goes back to the pre-1945 Japanese period in Taiwan.

As has been emphasised throughout this dissertation, the context of this project concerns the attempt of the Chinese Nationalist Party in the period from 1947 to 1987 to create a clear Mandarin Chinese sense of national identity in Taiwan, largely through cultural media that included popular song, and which at the same time involved the marginalisation of the other languages that already existed on the island (the dominant *Minnan*, the minority *Hakka*, and the various aboriginal languages of the mountainous interior). In Chapter One it has been established that listeners' tastes shifted from what has been called here the dominant Taiwanese-language (i.e. *Minnan*) popular song towards Mandarin Chinese-language popular song during this period from the 1950s to the 1980s as a direct result of state policy in favour of Mandarin Chinese. I have argued

that the change in taste preference in relation to popular song can also be seen to correspond to, and to parallel the stratification of the newly-developing society in Taiwan in terms of the higher status accorded to Mandarin-speaking Chinese and the lower status assumed by non-Mandarin-speaking Taiwanese peoples – a shift that can also be interpreted by means of metaphors of 'the same' and 'the other'. In Chapters Two and Three I have made the case that this hierarchical representation of Chinese identity achieved a high level of acceptance within Taiwanese society as a whole. In addition, patriotic popular song and campus song helped support ideas of 'great China' and 'we are all Chinese' that were circulated through the mass media and the education system. José López and John Scott have suggested that:

As collective representations, cultural entities also have an objective reality. This is not the reality of a social or group mind, but the reality of a system of shared values and ideas... A powerful social group may be able to impose its preferences on the less powerful by using its power to sanction nonconformity. In these circumstances, the institutions of a society will express the values of the powerful – who may not even form a majority (José López and John Scott 2000: 22, 33).

This process identified by López and Scott applies well to the situation in Taiwan at this period, where the powerful political minority could be seen to include an educated elite playing an important role in society (especially given the Chinese esteem for education) and functioning in support of the ruling power and its political ideology to enable it to execute its demands, which, as I have suggested, is revealed by the case of campus song. As a consequence of this, a tendency towards re-shaping national identity gradually emerged. The divisions and conflicts over 'who we are' are not only to be found between Chinese immigrants and the Taiwanese people (as well as within individuals

themselves), but have also developed a geographical aspect. My account of Taiwanese-language popular songs written between the late 1940s and the 1980s (precisely the period of the imposition of martial law) reveals the fact that an unbalanced social structure was in the process of being formed because of rapid industrialisation and in the name of economic growth. I have sought to show in Chapter Four how the texts of these songs indicate the extent to which the younger Taiwanese generation left home from the agricultural South and settled in the big cities of the industrialised North. North versus south, urban versus rural, and industry versus agriculture are oppositions and conflicts revealed in listeners' tastes in relation to language usage, something I have attempted to demonstrate in Chapter Five. I have argued that this unequal development in terms of the economy, infrastructure, transportation, and education inevitably led towards potential conflict as the inhabitants of these two distinctly differentiated areas of the country – the North and the South – also experienced distinctively different degrees of opportunity and welfare. I have argued that Mandarin Chinese-language popular song conveys messages of success and happiness, while Taiwanese-language song portrays a sense of poverty and frustration. The feeling of inequality does not simply divide Taiwanese society, but, more profoundly, it also becomes manifest as a split between two opposing political demands.

I shall now draw these strands together by considering briefly what I see as the three big themes that have emerged as part of a gradual process of social stabilisation in the years since the end of the period covered by this study, 1947-1987, and which can serve to give a sense of important current developments seen in the context of the central concerns of the main part of this study. These themes are (i) the way that the influences of globalisation have been taken advantage of paradoxically to build a stronger sense of local identity through drawing on a wide range of developments in

rock and pop music from the West; (ii) the gradual hardening of political divisions between North and South in Taiwan that have become established likewise in the reception and perception of popular musics in terms of Mandarin or Taiwanese-language songs; and (iii) the steady revival of Taiwanese-language popular song since the abolition of martial law and its current and unexpectedly fashionable status among young people, to the extent that there are even signs that it is crossing the boundary between ethnic/ linguistic groups and language communities.

Globalisation

Historically we can understand the extent to which Taiwan has been greatly influenced by foreign cultures, in particular by Japan during the colonial period and, especially since the early 1950s, by America. These foreign cultures, together with the influence of mainland Chinese culture, had a powerful impact on Taiwanese society and its own indigenous cultures, especially on its music. During the period of Japanese colonial rule the music industry came to Taiwan and for the first time, people had opportunities to get access to, and become familiar with popular song mainly through records of songs in either Japanese or Taiwanese, something which signaled that Taiwanese society had begun to move away from its traditional way of life. After the Second World War, American popular music had been brought to Taiwan, and it exerted a significant influence on young intellectuals. Americanisation became a symbol of one's taste, as these young intellectuals exclusively listened to popular songs in English. More importantly, Americanisation was not only regarded as an emotional and physical representation, it implied one's social class, because these young intellectuals have the ability to differentiate and qualify good or bad cultural taste in relation to levels of education. Pierre Bourdieu has argued that:

... cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education ... all cultural practices, and preferences... are closely linked to educational level and secondarily to social origin ... to the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers ... a field capable of imposing its own norms on both the production and the consumption of its products ... An art ... [that] asks to be referred ... to the universe of past and present works of art (Bourdieu 1989: 1-3).

Once this ‘taste’ has been constructed, we can identify what kind of cultural product a person admires. The judgment of taste is based on two alternatives – two sides of a coin: ‘affirmation’ and ‘negation’. Bourdieu demonstrates this process of judgment in relation to art in general; he says that “Tastes are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference ... In matters of taste, more than anywhere else, all determination is negation and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance of the tastes of others” (ibid 1989: 56). This ‘affirmation’ and ‘negation’ process has promoted American popular music on the one hand, and neglected local popular music on the other. As we can see, what you could call a ‘taste-class’ system had been established after the Second World War, and it continues to exist in Taiwan today. The phenomenon of Americanisation has become transformed into something on an even larger scale under the name of ‘globalisation’, something that continues to influence Taiwanese popular music through technological innovation. Apart from American music, Western music in general, and Japanese music, other Asian musics have also provided sources for the music industry to import popular music from Korea and Singapore; and musicians and composers also get materials from these musics. Nowadays Taiwanese consumers can find diverse kinds of popular music in stores and online, including songs in English, Japanese, Korean, Chinese (from mainland China, Hong Kong, Singapore and other Asian countries), Taiwanese, Hakka and the Taiwanese aboriginal languages.

Globalisation not only gives listeners their choice of popular music, but more

importantly, I suggest, globalisation has also been transformed into a kind of 'localisation' in the case of Taiwan. The concept and phenomenon of 'global to local' is well explained and portrayed by Koicbi Iwabuchi in his book *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism* (2002). While studying Japanese popular culture and the strategies operating within Japanese business corporations and the culture industry, Iwabuchi found that it is also precisely the *localisation* of Japanese popular culture that functions as a tool for these companies to increase their profit in other Asian countries. It is the idea of 'localising Japanese popular culture' that leads Iwabuchi to develop his argument concerning the concept of *glocalisation*, which was originally conceived in relation to market strategy and was proposed by Roland Robertson (see also Kjeldgaard & Askegaard 2006; Ng 2003). That is to say, what might initially have been the fear that globalisation would mean the loss of local identity has led in fact to new hybrid forms through the encounter of the global with the local, and it is this resulting hybridity that has thereby constructed a new sense of national identity, building a sense of belonging that has served as a protection against feelings of loss. It is this phenomenon that I am using the concept of 'glocalisation' to identify here. I argue that just such a construction of national identity by using hybrid cultural forms is also clearly to be seen in the case of Taiwan.

Some rock bands and singers, for example ChthoniC and the singer Wu Bai (who is known as 'the king of live'), produce popular songs in the rock style (especially heavy metal) but with a Taiwanese content in the Taiwanese language. The underground metal band ChthoniC and their lead singer Freddy Lim aim to incorporate a specifically Taiwanese identity into their songs through evoking a mythic past rooted in ancient Taiwanese and Chinese culture as well as drawing on more recent Taiwanese epic tales. ChthoniC released the album *Takasago Army* in 2011, an album based on a real story

about aboriginal peoples who joined the Japanese army during the Second World War and never returned. It is the first time that stories concerning the Taiwanese aboriginal peoples have been put into popular songs. ChthoniC has used the traditional Chinese instrument the *erhu* (fiddle) in the music for several albums, in particular in the album *Takasago Army*, where we can see that there is a merging of the Western and the Far Eastern through the mixing of the instruments used, including electric guitar, keyboard, drum kit, Japanese *koto*, and Chinese *erhu*. The singer, Wu Bai has released several songs concerned with the theme ‘home’, and the video for one of his songs, ‘Fanci Guxiang (I Go Back to My Hometown)’, released in 1998, this MV features a scene set in the village and the fields that make up a typical landscape of South Taiwan. This ‘globalisation-localisation’ provides evidence that an awareness of Taiwanese identity is resurgent in Taiwan at the moment (This is something to which I shall return later).

Political divisions

As we have seen throughout this dissertation, what has divided Chinese-language popular song from Taiwanese-language popular song is not only language, but equally importantly the stark differences of political and social outlook in terms of future expectations. That is to say, while Chinese-language popular song always tends to offer the promise of a rosy future that listeners can anticipate with pleasure, this is in stark contrast to the dominant imagery of Taiwanese-language popular song, which tends to reflect or portray the poor and uncomfortable everyday life of ordinary people. From this comparison between Chinese- and Taiwanese-language popular song, and the contrasting world-views that are reflected in the songs, it is not difficult to understand how tensions and conflicts could develop, and are developing within Taiwanese society itself. Conflicts between tradition and modernity, rich and poor, Chinese and Taiwanese,

town and country, industrialisation and agriculture, and North and South have led increasingly to political demands and have caused regional tensions arising from feelings of discrimination. You might say that Taiwanese society ought now to be peaceful and harmonious following the end of one of the longest periods of martial law and dictatorship in the world – that is, 38 years¹ – and that the Taiwanese should no longer be inclined to regard as propaganda whatever the Chinese Nationalist government has told them, as falling under Chinese cultural hegemony. As Gramsci has argued: “Hegemony, therefore, becomes ... ‘political, intellectual and moral leadership over allied groups.’... This hegemony, which always has its basis, for Gramsci, in ‘the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity’, operates principally ... in order to form a collective will, a unified political subject” (Mouffe 1979: 10). It has been argued in this dissertation that the hegemonic project in Taiwan, which has operated particularly at a cultural level to create a united and unified sense of Chinese identity, and in which Chinese-language (Mandarin) popular music had played a part, had appeared at first to have succeeded. However, since the 1990s the democracy introduced into Taiwan after the period of martial law has enabled the Taiwanese as whole to become conscious of their situation particularly because of the unequal development between regions in terms of the economy, infrastructure, transport, education, and so on. I have proposed that the relationship between listeners’ tastes and locality through the perception and reception of Taiwanese-language popular song in the context of the many divisions in Taiwanese culture and society is part of this process of increasing political consciousness. This political consciousness has utilised popular song as one of the means both to convey political demands and to attempt to create a new sense of national identity. Before taking this

¹ In fact, Taiwan was effectively a dictatorship that had been living under severe restrictions since the 228 incident happened in 1947, so it can be claimed that Taiwan had experienced 40 years dictatorship until martial law was lifted in 1987.

development a little further, I should like to reinforce it with some examples from popular TV and from political discussion in Taiwan today.

The TV programme ‘Dashyusheng lemei’ (CTV) invites university students to express and discuss their opinions. On one occasion (in July 2011) the topic of this programme led to a discussion on differences between girls respectively from the North and from the South. The student guests from the North criticised girls from the South because of their make-up, the clothes they wore (even underwear), and their accent. The programme was widely criticised because many viewers understandably felt these students discriminated against the girls from the South, and the furious debates that followed shifted rapidly to the internet, with over 30,000 responses in three days. The feeling of inequality represented here does not simply cut right through Taiwanese society, but more importantly, it becomes a problem of national identity. As my dissertation shows, confusion of national identity has been embedded deeply in Taiwan. The question whether ‘I am Chinese’ or ‘I am Taiwanese’ (and it should not be forgotten that Taiwan is also called ‘The Republic of China’) always becomes a big issue during the period leading up to the presidential elections in Taiwan. For example, in the lead up to the presidential election to be held in January 2012, the candidate Ma Ying-jeou, who is the current president, made an announcement on his Facebook pages about the issue of national identity on 12 July, 2011. President Ma deals with this divisive issue in the following terms: “As for ethnicity, I am of Chinese descent; I live in Taiwan and work hard for Taiwan, so I am Taiwanese; as for nationality, I am a citizen of the Republic of China, and I am the president of the Republic of China.” With these declarations, we can see how complex the issue of national identity is in present-day Taiwan. It is obvious that the perspective of Chinese identity has been strongly associated with the Chinese-language speaking linguistic group, as I have suggested in my discussion of

popular song in Chapters Two and Three, while the confusion of ‘who I am’ exists especially among the Taiwanese-language speaking group, as I demonstrated in Chapter Four. The analysis put forward in these chapters indicates that the idea of ‘who I am’ is both confusing and an issue of exclusivity for the Taiwanese-speaking groups, and it becomes reflected in political demands by the Taiwanese following the abolition of martial law.

This leads to a further interesting issue. Despite the fact that the division between the North and the South, the discrimination between people from the South and those of the North, the complex issue of national identity expressed by President Ma, and the confusion of ‘who I am’ within the Taiwanese-language speaking group, all of these conflicts, indeed, have become focused towards the creation of a larger and more all-embracing sense of national consciousness and national identity in Taiwanese society. This appears to be happening at least within part of the Taiwanese-language speaking group, and I suggest that there are also signs that it is also having its effect on Chinese speakers. In fact, it seems that there is a wave of revival of Taiwanese-language popular song along the lines of just such a larger consciousness of national identity.

The revival of Taiwanese-language popular song: Signs of a new sense of national identity

Initially after the abolition of martial law, some younger pop singers began to release Taiwanese-language popular songs, including the singer of campus song Pan Yuei-yun, who released ‘Gueihuasiang (the Lane of the Sweet Tea Olive Flower)’ in 1987 and ‘Cingzih Jhetiaolu (The Path of Love)’ in 1988; Wu Bai ‘Shaonianzai Anla (Don’t Worry, Young Man)’ in 1992, and Chen sheng ‘Gusheng Ruosiang (When I hear a drum beating)’ in 1994; Yu Chengcing, one of the younger generation of Chinese immigrants,

reissued a famous song ‘Shanding Heigogyung (The Handsome Man on the Top of Hill)’ in 2002, a song originally sung by Hong Yi-fong in 1958. Incredibly, these Taiwanese-language popular songs have been accepted by the younger generation across the language divide, although one of the reasons for the acceptance of Taiwanese-language popular songs among the educated younger generation may be the fact that the music is very different from the songs produced before the 1990s. The popular music of the twenty years since the early 1990s has been much more influenced by Western models. Furthermore, the pronunciation of Taiwanese in the Taiwanese-language songs has now been influenced by Chinese pronunciation, given that less and less young people actually speak Taiwanese on a daily basis, and added to this tendency has been the disappearance of the melismata that were such a feature of the earlier types of Taiwanese popular song, to be replaced with a more direct, less formal, style of delivery that has itself in part been influenced by performance styles in Western popular songs. All this has served to make Taiwanese-language popular songs more attractive. However, this serves to raise another question: given that listening to Taiwanese-language songs has until very recently been perceived as associated with low social status, what are the new reasons that are attracting young people across the language divide to Taiwanese-language popular songs?

One possible explanation for this phenomenon is the emerging practice among younger pop singers of singing some Taiwanese-language popular songs alongside the Chinese-language songs from their latest album when they perform on TV programmes or when they release an album. An example of this practice was when the pop singer A-mei released her rock-style album entitled *A-mit* (A-mei’s real name) in 2009, and it contained several Taiwanese-language songs in what was an otherwise Chinese-language album. A-mei is an extremely famous pop star in Taiwan, and she was the first

pop star from Taiwan to be interviewed by CNN's 'Talk Asia' programme in 2011. The interesting thing is that A-mei comes from the Beinan aboriginal people, and so the question arises as to why she includes pop songs in the Taiwanese-language in her aborigine-named *A-mit* album? This increasing tendency towards the mixing of the languages of the island of Taiwan on pop music albums could suggest the emergence of a stronger consciousness of what it is to be a citizen of Taiwan that not only crosses the divisions between language groups but also transcends them. However, this view should perhaps be counterbalanced by another view that suggests it is simply a passing fashion. Nevertheless, it must also be acknowledged that either way the sense that Taiwanese-language popular song simply signifies lower social status may well have been changed once and for all, so that a certain equality between language groups is at last beginning to appear. This even appears to be supported by recent statistical research, in that a long-term investigation done from 1994 to 2011 by the Election Study Center at the National Chenchi University² shows that the tendency in responses to the question 'Are you Chinese?' in public surveys has decreased from 71.0% to 43.1%, while the answer to the question 'Are you Taiwanese?' has correspondingly risen threefold from 17.6% to 54.2%. The data from this survey indicate that in the early years just after martial law had been abolished, the consciousness of Taiwanese identity was still low, but that now it is increasing because of the current democratic climate.

This study as a whole has not set out to answer these questions in any definitive sense, but has instead sought to suggest how divisions, changes, and tendencies in Taiwanese society have been reflected in popular song. The focus of this study on popular song in the period of martial law from effectively 1947 to 1987 has revealed, so I have argued, a society that was living through a post-colonial period where potentially

² This is to be found on the on-line source provided by the Election Study Center, National Chenchi University.

disruptive conflicts and divisions were difficult to accept and were largely controlled through the hegemony of the Chinese Nationalist government of that time, but where these tensions and alternative world-views emerged in popular songs. Nevertheless, unexpected recent developments in Taiwanese culture since the 1990s certainly suggest that popular song, youth culture, fashion and the media may even have played a role in the emergence of a new and more inclusive sense of national identity, particularly among younger people. I have indicated briefly how this is a feature of the new underground music, like that of the group *ChthoniC*. At the same time, however, this is very much a minority music that does not reach the great majority of the public. The music that reaches the greatest public nevertheless also manifests some of these features – it uses rock styles, it has a more direct style of delivery, and it often offers Taiwanese-language songs alongside Chinese-Mandarin language songs.

To end, therefore, I would like to return briefly to an idea discussed at the beginning of this study, in the Introduction. It is arguable that, because of its revival and the tendency to use Taiwanese events and stories as material for writing songs, Taiwanese-language popular songs can now be regarded as clearly manifesting an awareness of Taiwanese identity that also constitutes a form of resistance to the dominant Chinese cultural identity. This may well be the situation today, and not only in the case of the ‘underground’ music scene but also in the case of the kind of rock-influenced music that reaches a much wider public. It is difficult, however, to argue convincingly that such a form of active resistance in the songs was really present during the period of martial law that has been the main focus of this dissertation. I say this, furthermore, with the full awareness that there is a common view in Taiwan, also shared by enthusiasts such as Jhuang Yong-min (Jhuang 2009), which claims that Taiwanese-language popular song has always represented resistance to authority, including

Japanese colonial rule as well as that of the Chinese Nationalist Party. The analysis of the songs and their lyrics in this study has argued, on the contrary, that this style of music, together with its associated genres, largely *reflected* ideas and tendencies which were promoted by the ideology of the Nationalist Party – for example, that the Taiwanese people are inferior, that China is great, that migration to the cities and the abandonment of a rural way of life through industrialisation is unavoidable and to be accepted – rather than *resisting* these tendencies in order to change them. Indeed, in many respects it could be argued that the songs on both sides of the language divide have to be seen as a product of conformity to and indoctrination by the ruling party during this period, and as evidence that the internalisation of those ideas had been achieved. Nevertheless, while there may be little evidence that Taiwanese-language popular song was a tool of anti-authority and resistance until the arrival of democracy in present-day Taiwan, this dissertation has sought to show that the songs, in their reflection of social and cultural tendencies in a time of great conflict and change in Taiwanese society, reveal much about the way in which ordinary people responded to such experiences.

Appendix I

Questionnaire(O)

1. Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Age:
3. Ethnicity
☐ Taiwanese ☐ Chinese ☐ Hakka ☐ Aborigine ☐ Other
4. Where were you born?
5. Where do you live?
6. Level of education
☐ Primary school ☐ Secondary school ☐ High school
☐ University ☐ Other
7. What do you do?
8. Do you like to listen to Chinese-language popular song ?
☐ Yes ☐ No
Why ?
9. Do you like to listen to Taiwanese-language popular song ?
☐ Yes ☐ No
Why ?
10. How did you receive popular song when you were young ?
☐ radio ☐ TV ☐ Vinyl ☐ Tape ☐ Other _____ (multiple choice)
11. Please write down three of your favourite singers when you were young: _____ 、 _____ .
12. Please write down your favourite singing programme when you were young:

Questionnaire (Y)

1. Age:
2. Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female
3. Ethnicity:
☐ Taiwanese ☐ Chinese ☐ Hakka ☐ Aborigine ☐ Other
4. The city you live:
5. The occupation of your parents:
6. Level of education:
☐ Junior High school ☐ Senior High school ☐ college or university ☐ Others
7. Do you like to listen to Chinese-language pop song?
☐ Yes ☐ No
Why?
8. Do you like to listen to Taiwanese-language pop song?
☐ Yes ☐ No
Why?
9. Please write down three of your favourite singers of Chinese- and Taiwanese-language pop song.
Singers of Chinese-language pop song:
Singers of Taiwanese-language pop song:

Appendix II

Table showing the pronunciation of the letters used in tongyong and hanyu pinyin Romanisation systems. The sounds are shown using the phonetic alphabet.

Note: hanyu is not used in this thesis.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|----|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| tongyong | a | yi | e | o | ei | ou | wu | wo | ao | b |
| sound | ɑ | i | ə | ɔ | ei | o | u | uo | əu | b |
| hanyu | a | yi | e | o | ei | ou | u | wo | ao | b |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tongyong | p | m | f | d | t | n | g | k | h | r |
| sound | p | m | f | d | t | n | g | k | h | r |
| hanyu | p | m | f | d | t | n | g | k | h | r |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|----|----|----|---|---|---|----|----|
| tongyong | ji | ci | si | z | s | n | ng | yu |
| sound | dʒ | tʃ | si | z | s | n | ŋ | iu |
| hanyu | j | q | x | z | s | n | ng | yü |

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Interview Details

1. Chen Siou-nan, songwriter and producer (age: 50s), on May 18, 2009 in Taipei.
2. F, listener (age: 30s), several times in June 2009 in Chiayi.
3. H, songwriter and producer (age: 50s), on May 22, 2009 in Taipei.
4. Jhe, listener (age: 40s), many times during 2009 to 2011 in Taipei.
5. Jheng Rih-cing, singer (age: 80s), on June 28 and July 29, 2009 in Taipei.
6. Ji Lu-sia, singer (age: 70s), on June 23, 2009 in Taipei.
7. Liou Sheng-ji, instrumentalist (age: 50s), on July 26, 2009 in Taipei.
8. Mei-dai, singer (age: 70s), on July 30, 2009 in Taipei.
9. Siao, instrumentalist (age: 70s), on July 28, 2009 in Taipei.
10. Tsai, listener (age: 40s), many times during 2009 to 2011, in Chiayi.
11. Wong Siao-Liang, songwriter and producer (age: 60s), on June 6, 2009 in Taipei.
12. Ying, listener (age: 40s), many times during 2009 to 2011 in Chiayi.

Note:

Interviewees gave permission for material from the interviews to be cited in this study. They also gave permission for their names to be referred to, with the exception of interviewees 2 and 3, who wished to remain anonymous. This wish has been respected.